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CONTENTS

THE SHAPE OF THINGS 29

EDITORIALS:

THE ATTACK ON MONOPOLY 31

THE BOYCOTT IS WINNING 33

CAROL DROPS THE MASK 34

CAN HITLER BE BOUGHT? by Robert Dell 35

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF "RED" KUHL 37

HAVEN AT HANKOW by Crispian Corcoran 39

UNCLE SAM, PRIVILEGED BOSS
By Sterling D. Spero and Samuel Paul Puner 41

LOS ANGELES GROWS UP by Oliver Carlson 43

ISSUES AND MEN by Oswald Garrison Villard 45

BOOKS AND THE ARTS:

CAPITALISM AS MAGIC by Max Lerner 46

RED IN THE EAST by Eliot Janeway 47

THE WAYS OF PHILOSOPHY by Sidney Hook 48

"MEXICAN MODERN" by Anita Brenner 49

MISDIRECTED ENERGIES by Maxwell S. Stewart 50

ART: THE DEMUTH MEMORIAL SHOW
By Paul Rosenfeld 50

DRAMA: A DOLL'S HOUSE by Joseph Wood Krutch 53

RECORDS by B. H. Haggin 54

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The Shape of Things

MR. ROOSEVELT'S MESSAGE ON THE STATE OF the nation was among the sharpest commentaries on the functioning of the capitalist economy that any President has sent to Congress. In form and temper it marks an abrupt departure from the demoralized Administration mood of the past several months. In terms of actual program, however, there was little to put one's teeth into that had not already been discussed in previous messages. Despite the "candor" of his phrases, the President is clearly marking time in foreign affairs. In the domestic sphere he pleaded again and persuasively for the farm and wage-hour bills; retreated from the "balanced budget" philosophy, but not far enough to adopt the opposite philosophy of government spending to combat the recession; promised again that no one would starve if the WPA could help it; and took a firm stand on tax revision, implying that he would favor no changes in the capital-gains tax, and only such changes in the undistributed-profits tax as would ease the burden on small business. There is not much here that is new; yet, in contrast with what looked like an earlier tendency to bargain away the principles of the New Deal in return for business "cooperation," even to hold fast to what has already been enunciated seems like a step forward. The weakness of the message is its lack of a constructive and articulate program for dealing with the recession. The President's reference to an annual wage in the building industry is scarcely a major contribution toward recovery. His unwillingness to commit himself to government spending is ominous. In this respect Senator La Follette's insistence on more spending bolstered by heavier taxation would seem to smell more of the spirit of "action and action now" than the President's message.

IT IS WHEN HE TALKS OF BIG BUSINESS and the government, however, that the President reaches the crux of the message. Mr. Jackson and Mr. Ickes, by their speeches, stirred up a storm; Mr. Roosevelt now seeks to ride and command it. It is noteworthy that the emphasis of the message is not on monopoly or on any projected trust-busting. One must assume that the President can read history as well as the next man, and that he knows the record of the failure of anti-trust legislation, as pointed out in our editorial elsewhere in this

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issue. His emphasis is rather where it should be—on business power and irresponsibility rather than on size, and on the price and production policies not only of the monopolies but of the rest of big business. His indictment of particular business practices is important not because they violate some fancied competitive ideal, but because they carry with them "control of other people's money, other people's labor, other people's lives." What the President fails to see, or is unwilling to say, is that while his indictment applies only to a minority of business men, that minority controls our economic life. But a more important omission is the absence of a definite program for dealing with this concentration of power in the hands of an irresponsible few. The President hints at banking legislation, which may mean that he appreciates the fact of the government's dependence on the big capitalists for continuing investment and realizes that it was just such a dependence that caused the death of reform governments in Great Britain and France. Upon the nature of the President's supplementary messages, with their specific proposals, will depend one's judgment as to whether this message was chiefly rhetoric or the beginning of a new turn in policy.

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THE CENSUS OF UNEMPLOYMENT SHOWS that there is a larger number of jobless in the United States than anyone believed possible. While there will be endless controversy regarding the exact interpretation of the statistics, a strict mathematical count indicated that the number of unemployed in mid-November was 10,871,000. Since that date at least another million have been thrown out of work, bringing the total to very nearly twelve million. Assuming that a fourth of the two and a half million women listed as jobless would not be in the labor market if their husbands had work, the total is still well over eleven million. A few, but very few, of these will be eligible for unemployment insurance in another few weeks. In New York, which is one of the twenty-one states in which unemployment insurance becomes payable this month, only 185,000 of the 1,350,000 who are out of work have applied for benefit payments, and it is impossible to know how many of these will be disqualified. Throughout the country approximately two million persons are on government work projects. But there remain at least eight million who are receiving neither jobless benefits nor work relief. As things stand at present, these millions are in precisely the same plight as were the unemployed in the early days of the Hoover Administration. They must look to the state, to the municipality, or to private charity for such aid as is available. But if the past few years have taught us anything, it is that the local communities are incapable of meeting the demand for relief. Pending the development of a coordinated national-security program, which would eliminate discrimination, Congress might well consider the proposal put forward by the Community Mobilization for Human Needs for an immediate resumption of federal grants-in-aid to enable the states to cope with the growing crisis.

CHIANG KAI-SHEK'S DECISION TO RESIGN the Premiership and concentrate on military affairs may be taken as an indication that the Chinese leaders have determined to fight the war to the finish. H. H. Kung, the new Premier, is one of Chiang's most trusted aides and may be expected to carry out his policies. Despite the rapid Japanese advance in Shantung, the military situation is not wholly unfavorable to China. Observers of the utmost reliability who have recently returned to this country from the Peiping area report that the large Japanese army in Shansi, Suiyuan, and parts of Hopei has practically been immobilized by the guerrilla tactics of the Eighth Route Army. At most, Japanese control extends only about five miles from the railroads, and even these are frequently cut. Popular feeling in both the occupied and unoccupied sections of the country is growing more bitter against Japan as a result of the systematic, wholesale pillaging of the towns and countryside which have been occupied by the Japanese troops. Evidence which has come to light recently makes it clear that the undeclared war, including the Shanghai adventure, was not the outgrowth of unfortunate incidents, as appeared at the time, but was deliberately planned months in advance by the extremists in the Japanese army. It is apparent, however, that the strength of Chinese resistance was seriously underestimated, and that even the extremists would now welcome peace if it would guarantee Japanese domination over North China.

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NOT THE LEAST REGRETTABLE ASPECT OF the Panay incident was the inflammatory purpose it was made to serve. For days before the newsreels reached the United States their coming was heralded by news items describing the dangers attendant on their recording, outlining their itinerary, and explaining the delays. When the pictures finally arrived, full double-column advertisements appeared in the New York dailies listing all the moving-picture houses in the metropolitan area at which they would be shown, and many of the larger houses advertised separately, giving lurid descriptions of the horrors to be revealed. On the first day the films were shown, the papers reported the exact degree of fever raised in each theater, and one journal even sent a reporter around to ask members of the audience whether the pictures made them feel like going to war. Several responded with a gratifying ferocity that was played up in the headlines. Actually the newsreels themselves were not nearly as inflammatory as the build-up, but the running comment was assuredly not intended to cool fevered brows. The bombing itself was shown only indirectly, and there was no sign of the machine-gunning of the Panay. But the fulsome discussion of the commentator made up for that. As the film showed the flag-draped coffin of an American seaman who was killed on board the gunboat, the voice of Lowell Thomas reminded us, in grim staccato and with what sounded like disapproval, that the government says the incident is closed. Without all the ballyhoo the films would have

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been calmly accepted as a reasonably good newsreel; as presented they became a challenge to "red-blooded Americans" to stand up and put those Japs in their place.

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WHEN THE NEW YORK DEMOCRATS ASSEMBLE at the annual Jackson Day dinner, where the governorship prospects are usually lined up, the figure on whom all eyes will be turned will be another fellow by the name of Jackson. Besides having the running start of a good name, Robert H. Jackson has recently been catapulted into national prominence by his speeches attacking big business. These have given him the build-up he has needed in order to become available for the governorship of New York State this year. Jackson first gained attention as general counsel of the Bureau of Internal Revenue, where he made a brilliant argument in the tax suits against Andrew Mellon and did much to strengthen the tax administration. He is something of an anomaly—a former corporation lawyer who has turned out to be one of the strongest Administration progressives. He would undoubtedly receive the support of the Labor Party in New York as against District Attorney Dewey, who is almost certain to get the Republican nomination for governor. The only candidate who could replace Jackson is Senator Wagner, and a boom has already been started by Tammany to head Jackson off by drafting Wagner for the governorship and running Lehman for the Senate in Wagner's place. The maneuver has a double purpose: not only would it spike the Jackson boom, but it would replace a strong liberal in the Senate with a man more to the liking of the financial interests. Wagner would make a strong candidate for governor, but he should not be taken out of the Senate, where his talent for holding the liberal bloc together makes him indispensable. New York labor will do well to insist that he stay where he is and to throw its strength to Jackson for governor.

*

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NEW STATE OF EIRE leaves de Valera and the Irish people with their basic problems as far from solution as ever. Although the last ties with the British Empire have nominally been cut, Ireland is still not independent. True, it has obtained complete control over its domestic policies, but its autonomy in this respect is really no greater than was granted in the Free State charter of 1921. In theory it is no longer dependent on the British Commonwealth of Nations for its foreign policy, but in practice it is as much a vassal as ever. Mr. de Valera is actually working in closer harmony with Great Britain than at any time in the past five years. Nor has any progress been made on the problem of "partition." The new constitution invests Dublin with sovereignty over the whole of Ireland, but the British have decreed otherwise. While the constitution was created to unify the country, it has only served to accentuate political differences and weaken de Valera's power. Most of the changes are minor, but they lie in the general direction of an authoritarian state. Civil rights are guaranteed, subject to rather sweeping exceptions. The President is granted power which in the hands of a strong man might facilitate the establishment of a dictatorship. For the moment, however, the strength of the opposition precludes any move in that direction.

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LORD HALIFAX'S VISIT TO HERR HITLER may appear to have been a failure to those who hoped it would fail, but it was not so regarded by the group in England which is responsible for having brought it about. The London *Times* of December 3 contained a long and highly interesting description of the second annual dinner of the Anglo-German Fellowship. Five hundred persons attended, Lord Mount Temple presided, and the Duke of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, president of the Deutsche-Englische Gesellschaft, sister organization in the Third Reich, was the chief guest. Lord Mount Temple noted that the Fellowship has grown to 700 members—"citizens of weight and influence, occupying responsible positions, and drawn from all parts of the British Isles." The Duke of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha made it clear that Lord Halifax's visit must be regarded as the first success in a continuing campaign rather than the final fiasco in a failing cause. Herr von Ribbentrop uttered similar felicities, and Lord Halifax, with an almost jocular verbal wink at his distinguished audience, which responded with laughter, said that he intended to speak mainly of the hunting expedition which, he wished to remind them, was the "original purpose" of his visit and that it would therefore be the subject of his address. The *Times* list of "among those present" was formidable with lords and ladies, admirals, and field marshals. They included Sir Robert and Lady Vansittart. Sir Robert has just been made chief diplomatic adviser to the British Foreign Office.

The Attack on Monopoly

THE new moves to grapple with the monopoly problem which are implicit in the President's message to Congress and were spelled out in the speeches of Mr. Jackson and Mr. Ickes may be seen from two angles. Most of the discussion has been centered on the immediate politics of these moves, with the President again getting the worst of it so far as the newspapers are concerned. If the turn in policy were limited to trust-busting slogans and the attempt to fix the blame for the recession, we should agree with much of the criticism of it. But if it marks a recognition by the President that his whole recent policy of compromise and concession has been as unfruitful politically as it has been futile economically, the change is a good one.

Then, too, there is the larger perspective. These considerations of politics and morale, however important on the eve of the opening of Congress, are not of prime significance. Five or ten years from now the question of who was to blame for the depression, or whether the

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President was politically clever in his moves, will be unimportant. But the question of what measures were taken to cope with the recession, and what long-run policy was adopted for the regulation of business, will be crucial. It was inevitable, of course, that after Wall Street had persisted in blaming the recession on the Administration, the Administration should retaliate by blaming it all on business; and the speeches of Mr. Ickes and Mr. Jackson, with their unfortunate emphasis on personal devils, must be read in this light. But it is time the question of *who* is responsible for the depression were shifted to the question of *what* is responsible.

There are men around the President who are beginning to make an analysis not only of the recession but of the whole impasse of American capitalism that runs beyond campaign thunderings and political snap judgments. This analysis is implicit in the recent Administration utterances, although overlaid by political incrustations. Its central approach to the ups and downs of the permanent depression has three phases. First, the major part of American industry is controlled by corporations so powerful that most of our prices are what Gardiner C. Means has called "administered" prices, with a resulting lack of price flexibility and an incapacity for change as required by changing needs. Second, these corporations have been in a position (in Mr. Jackson's phrase) to "skim the cream off recovery" by their huge profits; they have profited from advances in technology and lowered costs, but instead of following the Brookings formula of lowering price and increasing volume and thus pumping the technological savings back into purchasing power for labor and the consumer, they have chosen to maximize their profits, even at the expense of higher prices and smaller volume. Third, industrial and financial concentration has gone so far that a relatively small number of men now control the sources and pace of investment and have the power to withhold it; and that control is exercised in the thoroughly undemocratic way that characterizes the management-control and banker-control of industry. This latter, incidentally, is the core of relevance in Secretary Ickes's reference to America's "sixty families."

If this analysis is sound, the power, inflexibility, price and labor policies, and investment policies of the giant corporations are crucial to the whole situation. We have never believed in what Justice Brandeis has called "the curse of bigness" as such; the problem is not one of bigness but of irresponsible power and inflexibility of adjustment to economic needs.

But the remedy for our economic ills is not trust-busting. The Administration has much to learn if it thinks it can bring prosperity by enforcing the anti-trust laws. They are part of the exploded and outmoded folklore of capitalism—a folklore, as Thurman Arnold has pointed out, that allowed us to cling to our ideal of a competitive society and at the same time allowed the trusts to flourish. The anti-trust policy has been a failure ever since its adoption in 1890. Fifty years of agitation have resulted only in the Sherman, Clayton, and Federal Trade Commission acts. The anti-trust suits and the consent decrees have amounted to practically nothing. The whole policy is vitiated by the attempt to control a living economic institution in terms of the dead ritual and incongruous procedures of criminal litigation. Theodore Roosevelt tried trust-busting and ended by turning his face Janus-like in both directions at once, with a distinction between "good" and "bad" trusts. In the immortal words that Mr. Dooley placed in his mouth, "On wan hand I wud stamp them undher fut; on th' other hand, not so fast." Woodrow Wilson tried trust-busting, and his failure was shrouded in war.

It has been one of Mr. Roosevelt's merits that he has up to now recognized the futility of the anti-trust laws, and has addressed himself instead to the regulation of business. It is true that he has gone about regulation often in the wrong way, and that the NRA did much to increase the power of the monopolies. But in fairness to the Administration, one should point also to the Public Utilities Holding Company Act, the SEC, the NLRB, and the TVA as moves in the right direction, and to the light that the Pecora and Wheeler hearings have shed on corporate finance. In long-run terms the recent moves represent a recognition by the Administration that its policy of regulation has not accomplished its objectives; that despite the partial successes of the government, the recession has caught it with Big Money still in the saddle and still powerful enough to sabotage the purposes of the New Deal. We welcome the change of Administration policy as a sign that Mr. Roosevelt means to push on with his reforms. But the direction is all important. If Mr. Roosevelt means to move back to the Sherman Act and the cloud-cuckooland of a competitive system, the results can only be tragic. If he means to move forward to more stringent and more intelligent regulation of business, he is on the right track.

Here, or anywhere in government regulation, the beginning of wisdom lies in the recognition that absolutes must be avoided. The industrial system presents a whole hierarchy of methods by which prices are determined. In certain sweated industries cutthroat competition reigns and "chiseling" is a real menace; in the distributive and retail trades, one must face the problem of resale price maintenance and of the independent merchant as against the chain-store; in the case of the railroads, consolidations must be part of a realistic program; the public-utility field is the happy hunting ground of holding companies and financial marauders, and only drastic control accompanied by the TVA principle and a change in judicial rate-making can help the consumer; an industry like aluminum represents a case of a 100 per cent perfect monopoly, protected by patents and ripe for socialization. Some of the most important industries—steel, autos, oil, movies—fall between these categories in the area of what the economists are now calling by the barbarous name "oligopoly," where a few large companies divide the field, often through linked financial directorates, and where there is a community of interest in price and production policy.

Obviously no ready-made pattern will fit these varied needs. What the Administration needs is not a slogan

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but a program. Fortunately it has the materials for one in the studies of the National Resources Committee, in the WPA studies of recent changes in industrial techniques, in the files of the NRA, and in the series of excellent studies of price policy made in the Labor Department under Walton Hamilton and soon to be published. It should use them.

The Boycott Is Winning

FOUR and a half months have passed since *The Nation* first urged a consumers' boycott as the most practicable means of opposing Japanese aggression in China. During that period the boycott has been steadily gaining strength. And within the past week it has suddenly emerged as a nation-wide movement of unprecedented proportions. Doubtless the sinking of the Panay and the subsequent showing of the films depicting that attack have played an important role in bringing home the realities of Japanese aggression to the American people. But there is also abundant evidence that Americans are beginning to grasp the fact, for the first time, that they, in cooperation with other peace-loving peoples, have the power not only to stop Japan but to diminish the threat of war throughout the world.

The success of the four-months-old movement to stop the purchase of Japanese goods is almost incredible. Within the past week officers of six of the country's largest chain stores—F. W. Woolworth, S. S. Kresge, McCrory, S. H. Kress, the F. and W. Grand Stores, and the National Dollar Stores—have announced that they are not placing additional orders for Japanese manufactured goods. The only other important chain in the same field, the W. T. Grant Stores, was earlier reported to be considering a similar ban, but it has not made any definite announcement.

So far the department stores have not come out as openly as the chain stores, but the *Herald Tribune* of December 17 reported that two of New York's largest stores had discontinued purchases from Japan and that others were holding up orders pending an appraisal of popular sentiment. Similar reports have been received from San Francisco, Washington, Portland, and other cities.

The effect of the boycott on the sale of silk has not been as dramatic, but there is plenty of evidence that inroads are being made on this most important of all Japanese products. On December 18 it was announced that the silk-hosiery manufacturers would be forced to "plan a midwinter curtailment of production." On the following day it was reported that the number of producers of lisle stockings had increased from five to fifty-five within six weeks. Since that time one of the largest manufacturers, the Gotham Silk Hosiery Company, has announced a new stocking made of cotton lisle "to meet such demand as may develop." A large number of firms have also branched out into the production of full-fashioned rayon stockings.

To the annual convention of the American Student Union must be given credit for one of the most colorful incidents in connection with the boycott. The bonfire which consumed silk stockings, neckties, and other garments has been a front-page story throughout the country. A less publicized but even more dramatic incident occurred in a New York settlement house when a group of children were presented with Japanese-made toys at their annual Christmas party. Spontaneously indignant, these slum children, to whom even the cheapest toy is a prize of great value, returned the gifts to the settlement house, where they lie today, a testimonial to the children's hatred of war and a rebuke to the donors.

It is impossible within our limits of space to attempt to list the organizations which have indorsed the boycott. They represent all sections of the nation and all shades of political and religious opinion. In addition to the American Federation of Labor, the Committee for Industrial Organization, the American Student Union, and the American Negro Congress, we find such various groups as the United Christian Council for Democracy, Division 36 of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, the City Council of Hamtramck, Michigan (a Polish-American community), the Kiwanis Club of Boston, the Lions Club of Charleston, West Virginia, the Massachusetts State Grange, the Lieutenant John A. Patten Post, American Legion, Troy, New York, and the American Artists' Congress actively supporting the boycott. We could cite many more, equally diverse but similarly united in opposition to the Japanese invasion. The Independent Merchants' Association of Montana, which earlier voted to suspend buying Japanese products, has written to the National Retail Dry Goods Association asking similar action. In Richmond, Virginia, a state Committee for Boycott against Japanese Aggression has been set up as a branch of the national committee in New York.

Details on the spread of the boycott movement in other countries are lacking, but it is significant that the Council of the powerful League of Nations Union of Great Britain unanimously adopted a resolution on December 17 which (1) "welcomes the action taken by individuals and societies, both at home and abroad, to refuse to purchase goods of Japanese origin; and (2) trusts that there will be such an extension of this refusal to purchase Japanese goods as will convince the British government of the strength of public opinion on this subject." On December 15 the international executive committee of the International Peace Campaign, under the leadership of Viscount Cecil, voted unanimously to organize, on a worldwide scale, a private boycott of Japanese goods. A World Boycott Conference will be held in London beginning February 14, with the slogan "Save China—Save Peace." Thirty-nine international organizations with an aggregate membership of some 300,000,000 are to take part in this drive.

While figures showing the effect of the American boycott campaign during the last two months will not be available for at least sixty days, some effect is discernible in the September and October trade figures. Despite a general increase in American foreign trade during those

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months, trade with Japan, both imports and exports, fell off sharply as compared with the same months in 1936. Particularly striking is the fact that our imports of raw silk, in volume, dropped almost exactly 25 per cent in each month as compared with the previous year. As the price was also down about 5 per cent, the net loss in purchasing power to Japan was approximately 30 per cent. While all this loss cannot be attributed to the boycott, a number of reports from trade circles indicate that even three months ago "resistance to Japanese products" on the part of consumers was noticeable.

Even from this brief survey it is apparent that a development of utmost importance is under way. For the first time in history the common people of the world are discovering an effective method of registering their protest against war and aggression. True, they have not yet stopped Japan. But as it becomes apparent that China is settling down to a long-drawn-out campaign of resistance, the possibilities for effectively using this weapon are greatly increased. Japan has reserves to carry on its invasion of China for several months longer, but its capacity for continuing its drive beyond that period depends entirely on the economic support it receives from the principal commercial countries—the United States and the British Empire. Denied that support, Japan will find itself unable to obtain the war materials necessary to carry its campaign through to the end.

Carol Drops the Mask

THE news of the past week from Bucharest was not as unexpected as some of the correspondents make it appear to be. For the better part of a year King Carol has been telling the foreign journalists who came to see him that events of the gravest sort were brewing. What he left to the imagination was that he intended to play the part of destiny himself. But a glance at the political checkerboard of Rumania made that manifest. The young monarch had for seven years been enjoying himself hugely at the game of reigning. A constitutional ruler on paper, he was in fact ignoring parties and parliamentary majorities; and he labored with no little skill and with all his energies to get rid of them altogether. To this end he sowed discord in the more powerful groups—like the Liberals and the National Peasants—and raised up dictator-apprentices to undermine their influence. But his efforts were not entirely successful. The party of Maniu gained suport in the country, though not proportionately at elections, while the Iron Guard of Corneliu Codreanu, grown strong and arrogant, snapped at the hand that had been feeding it. Thenceforth there was but one course open to the King. With a quasi-republican foe on the left and a totalitarian one on the right, he must drop the mask and frankly break up the party system. The recent elections, in which, despite official pressure, his minions failed to obtain the required plurality, were the last straw.

In calling to office Octavian Goga—poet, anti-Semite, and hooligan chief—Carol followed in the footsteps not of Hindenburg but (with variations and precautions) of his late brother-in-law King Alexander of Yugoslavia. The leader of the numerically insignificant National Christian Party is a transparent screen behind which can be discerned the features of the real dictator, Carol himself. Had the ruler wanted to turn the country over to a veritable, dynamic totalitarian, he would have called upon Codreanu or Vaida Voevod, the dissident peasant chief. In aims and program these three differ not at all, and Codreanu is the only one to possess a private army. Goga's threat to mobilize 200,000 of his troops is an idle boast, and he as well as the King knows it. Carol did not even make the army over to his new Premier, but intrusted it to General Antonescu, a soldier independent of parties and ideologies whom the monarch could control separately.

The purpose of the royal move is thus clear enough: it was a maneuver to preserve and consolidate the throne, to crush the peasant left, and by the same stroke to take the wind out of Codreanu's sails. But surprises may yet come. It is doubtful, for instance, whether the King, for all his sympathies with nearby despotisms and his repugnance for the French Popular Front, intended to precipitate a break with the traditional foreign policy of the country. There was no compelling reason why he should swing over in the direction of Rome and Berlin at this particular moment. Along with Colonel Beck of Poland and Premier Stoyadinovich of Yugoslavia, he rather relished sitting on the fence, being courted by both groups of great powers, and committing himself outright to neither. Wherefore the speedy and somewhat vigorous reaction in Paris must have come to him as a shock. M. Daladier's prompt stoppage of arms shipments may possibly serve to sober Rumania's ruler. The question is whether events have not slipped out of Carol's scheming hands. Coups d'état, like revolutions, often fail to do what their makers expect of them. Ideological sympathies are all very well, but France and Czechoslovakia are in a position to furnish arms on credit, whereas Germany and Italy, having poured the contents of their arsenals into Spain and being hampered by lack of raw materials, are hardly able to supply them even for cash.

As a matter of fact, even internally, Carol must already realize that he has loosed a bigger avalanche than he could have wished. The racial policies of Goga cannot fail to make worse the position of other minorities besides that of the Jews and thereby to increase tension with Hungary, Bulgaria, and Russia. If Goga weakens he will be overwhelmed either by the Iron Guard or by the National Peasant party of Maniu, which, be it remembered, has military resources of its own. In the last analysis the issue may depend on the attitude of the army. For the moment the army is faithful to the monarch. But should the situation become confused, it is at least conceivable that, in a country where corruption is not unknown, its loyalty may be shaken. In that case the German and Italian press may have triumphed prematurely.

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Can Hitler Be Bought?

BY ROBERT DELL

Geneva, December 20

FOUR years of refusal to learn by experience—of persistence in a policy of capitulations and concessions to gangsters and blackmailers although its disastrous consequences had again and again been demonstrated—have ended as sooner or later they were bound to end. Anglo-French diplomacy is bankrupt, and the poor-spirited incapables to whom the two great Western democracies have intrusted the management of their affairs still refuse to face realities and to reverse the policy that has put them in an almost inextricable situation.

Neither in Paris nor in London has any definite information been given about the Anglo-French conversations of last month. It is doubtful whether all members of the British and French governments have been fully informed about them. It is, however, certain that the conversations did not result in a decision to make a stand against the arrogant and aggressive policy of the new Fascist Triple Alliance. So far as Japan is concerned, the capitulation is already complete. As the London *New Statesman and Nation* said on December 18, the Brussels conference was a "degrading farce," for which the United States, England, and France are equally responsible. Not one of them was prepared even to join in an embargo. An attempt appears to have been made to induce the Soviet government to take action alone against Japan. Potemkin is said to have replied that the Russians were not prepared to be cannon fodder for the Western powers. The Brussels conference should never have been held in the circumstances, and it cannot be denied that President Roosevelt's Chicago speech misled European opinion. He should not have talked as he did if he had not the power to act. Now the Japanese feel they can do anything they like, as the attacks on American and British ships show. As the *New Statesman* said in the article already quoted, "it would be sensible for Englishmen to prepare their minds for the peaceful liquidation of British interests in the Far East" and to "face the fact that Japan is now mistress in the Pacific."

In Europe, on the other hand, all is not yet lost, and it would still be possible to redress the situation if the British and French governments were willing to take the initiative in organizing collective defense against the alliance of the aggressor states. It is clear, however, that they are not willing. They cannot do it without the cooperation of Soviet Russia, and the British government refuses to cooperate with Soviet Russia. Under British influence the French government has been for some time past becoming less and less friendly to Russia. If England, France, and Russia declared tomorrow that they would tolerate no aggression against and no interference with Austria or Czechoslovakia or any other European country, it is extremely improbable that there would be any such aggression or interference, and if there were none, there would be no war. If England, France, and Russia joined in a pact of mutual assistance open to every other country in Europe, every other European country except Germany and Italy would ultimately be brought into it. Even Austria and Hungary could hardly stand out permanently. It is not true that further concessions to the fascist powers are the only alternative to war.

The tour of Delbos in Eastern Europe, which was arranged before the visit of Chautemps and Delbos to London, has been a complete failure if its purpose was to restore French influence in Poland, Rumania, and Yugoslavia and to strengthen the Little Entente. In Warsaw the divergences between Delbos and Beck were so evident that even the official communiqué did not venture to say that they were in agreement. Poland has not formally adhered to the Fascist Triple Alliance, but it belongs to it for all practical purposes, although there is little doubt that the majority of the Polish people are opposed to Beck's policy. It can hardly be doubted that the majority of the Yugoslav people are also opposed to the policy of their government. The arrival of Delbos in Belgrade was the occasion of an incident that must be unprecedented in such circumstances. The police charged and shot down demonstrators for the crime of showing their sympathy with democratic France and their hostility to fascist Italy. When Benes visited Belgrade, there were similar demonstrations, and the roads into the capital were closed to prevent the inhabitants of the neighboring country districts from joining in them. The visit of Stoyadinovich, the Yugoslav Prime Minister, to Rome on the eve of Delbos's visit was an insult to France, and it is clear that there is some sort of secret agreement between Italy and Yugoslavia, even if it be not a written one. Yugoslavia is now definitely in the German orbit, and the reconciliation with Italy was brought about by German and British influence. The Yugoslav government did not consult France or its partners in the Little Entente before signing the "Pact of Accord" with Italy on March 26 last, but it did consult Mr. Campbell, the British Minister to Belgrade, who recommended the signing of the pact, acting no doubt on instructions from his government. Thus Mussolini has regained the influence in the Balkans that he had lost by his own blunders.

In Bucharest Delbos was perhaps a little less unsuccessful than in Warsaw and Belgrade, but he could not shake the determination of the Rumanian government not to accept the pact of mutual assistance offered by the

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Blum Cabinet to Yugoslavia and Rumania about a year ago on condition that they agreed to convert the Little Entente treaty, which at present provides for mutual assistance only in the event of an attack on any of the signatories by Hungary, into a general pact of mutual assistance. It is not even certain that he tried to shake it. The Blum Cabinet, under British influence, had previously refused a similar proposal made on behalf of the Little Entente in June, 1936. When, later, the French government took fright and itself made the proposal that it had previously rejected, it was too late. Yugoslavia and Rumania had passed under German influence. This was perhaps the worst of the many blunders in foreign policy made by the Popular Front government, which has a great responsibility for the present situation.

In Prague Delbos had, naturally, an enthusiastic reception, but by agreement with Neville Chamberlain and Eden he urged the Czechoslovak government to make concessions to Hitler. Hitler is trying to impose on Czechoslovakia a "cultural" agreement on the lines of that already existing between Germany and Poland. The effect of the agreement would be, among other things, that the Czechoslovak press would cease to publish anything distasteful to the German government, especially information about what is going on in Germany, that the German government would have a free hand to send into Czechoslovakia as many spies as it pleased masquerading as newspaper correspondents, and that the Czechoslovak government would suppress all the periodicals published by German refugees in Prague and forbid German refugees even to write for Czechoslovak papers. The fact that the Czechoslovak government is actually negotiating on the subject is significant.

It is extremely probable that Delbos advised the Czechoslovak government to make such an agreement with Germany, for he himself is negotiating about a similar agreement between Germany and France. The suggestion was made about a month ago by Aschmann, head of the press department of the German Foreign Office, in a letter to Pierre Comert, who holds the same position in the Quai d'Orsay. Delbos sent Comert, much against the latter's will, to Berlin to discuss the matter with Aschmann. When Delbos was passing through Berlin on his way to Warsaw, Neurath, in the course of their short conversation at the Berlin railway station, again raised the question of a "cultural agreement" and said that one of the conditions insisted on by the German government would be the suppression of all the periodicals published by German refugees in France. Delbos consented to consider the matter and telegraphed from Warsaw instructing Comert to go to Berlin without delay. It may be hoped that the negotiations will come to nothing, but the fact that Delbos insisted on them is a sufficient indication of his abject attitude toward Nazi Germany.

The very existence of the League of Nations is now at stake. The German manifesto against the League was undoubtedly a signal for an offensive with the object of destroying it. It seems likely that the political offensive will be started by Poland. On December 15 a communiqué issued by the political information bureau in Warsaw expressed the fear that the League would now become the representative of an "ideological bloc" opposing Germany, Italy, and Japan. "This would mean," the communiqué said, "that the Geneva institution would be turned into a mere doctrinaire camp without due regard to realities," in which case "the Polish government would have to reconsider very carefully whether this is not in conflict with the basic principles of Polish foreign policy and as a result of such consideration to regulate Poland's future attitude to, and her relations with, the League of Nations." The Polish government has sent the text of this communiqué officially or semi-officially to the Secretary General of the League of Nations with a covering letter saying that it expresses the views of the Polish government.

This is in effect a threat on the part of the Polish government to leave the League of Nations unless the Covenant is amended by the suppression of Article 16 and the League formally renounces any form of collective defense and any action against an aggressor. It is believed in Geneva that Poland will probably raise the question at the next session of the Council of the League, which will begin on January 17. If so, Poland is quite likely to have the support of the British government, and even of the French government if Chautemps has his way. French correspondents accompanying Delbos on his tour have been openly saying that a change in French policy is contemplated in the sense of an abandonment of the idea of collective security.

An article by Pierre Etienne Flandin published in the *Journal des Nations* on December 19 undoubtedly expresses the views of Chautemps. This article shows that Flandin has become, at any rate temporarily, as pro-Nazi as Lord Halifax or Lord Lothian or the Astor family. He says in so many words that the Covenant of the League of Nations must be conciliated with the political principles set forth by Hitler in "Mein Kampf," and that for that purpose there must be "a partial and momentary abdication of the ideal expressed in the Covenant." France, Flandin says, must aim at conciliation and "the future reorganization of European relations in a League of Nations amply remodeled." It is clear from internal evidence that the article was written before Italy gave notice of withdrawing from the League and therefore before Germany declared that it would never return to the League in any circumstances, but it is none the less ominous.

The offensive against the League is to be economic as well as political, and the economic offensive will be led by Van Zeeland, who recently resigned his post as Prime Minister of Belgium in not very creditable circumstances. He has now drafted his report on the economic situation. A few days ago he had an interview in Paris with Chautemps, to whom he showed his report, but he refused to show it to the Quai d'Orsay. At the time of writing, Van Zeeland is in Rome, where he has shown his report to the Italian Foreign Ministry. His presence in Rome was at first denied by the Italian press,

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which has now, however, admitted it, adding that Van Zeeland has not seen and will not see Mussolini, which may or may not be true. In his report Van Zeeland recommends all that the fascist powers have demanded. His report is in direct opposition to those of the economic and financial committees of the League of Nations, which have recommended financial assistance to autarchic countries only for the purpose of enabling them to abandon autarchy, control of exchanges, and so on, and then only with political guaranties to prevent the use of the credits for armament purposes. Van Zeeland recommends that credits and financial assistance should be given to autarchic countries to enable them to continue their autarchic system and without any political guaranties at all. He proposes a five-power conference of the United States, England, France, Germany, and Italy, to draft a scheme which would then be submitted to a world conference. In his conversation with Chautemps, Van Zeeland said that if the League Covenant were amended in the sense desired by Germany and Italy, and those countries returned to the League, it could be the organ for executing the decisions of the world conference. If not, a new economic organization would be set up, as was proposed by the King of the Belgians in his letter of July 21 last to Van Zeeland, which was instigated, if not actually written, by Van Zeeland himself.

Van Zeeland's proposals are an attempt not only to destroy the economic organization of the League of Nations, which is one of its most valuable departments, but also to strengthen the fascist powers economically and politically. We know Van Zeeland at Geneva. More than once he did the dirty work of the British delegation, notably during the Abyssinian affair. It has been clear for some time past that he is equally prepared to do the dirty work of Hitler and Mussolini. It is to be hoped that the United States will give no encouragement to his intrigues.

The Life and Times of "Red" Kuhl

[We print herewith from the verbatim report of the La Follette Committee on Civil Liberties the typical sections of the testimony of C. M. ("Red") Kuhl, a labor spy who had worked for various agencies. Senator La Follette had begun by questioning Mr. Kuhl about the companies he had served and the "jobs" he had been assigned to.]

SENATOR LA FOLLETTE. You have been in the business a long time, Mr. Kuhl. Can you tell us and just describe in your own way how they get these strike-breakers, where they get them, and what kind of men they are?

Mr. KUHL. There is a kind of an underground grapevine system that puts out this call, and everyone hears it. They have certain places they congregate. For instance, in New York they have got a certain place at Forty-second and Broadway. In Chicago it would be down in the Loop around Randolph Street. In Philadelphia, for instance, it is down around the Reading Depot. And one of them will hear about it. For instance, these agencies will put out the word to one fellow, and he will go down and spread the word, and they are all around there looking for the job.

Senator LA FOLLETTE. How do they sign them up for these jobs?

Mr. KUHL. Well, they sign them up on a contract where the fink or strike-breaker practically signs away his life. . . .

Senator LA FOLLETTE. What else?

Mr. KUHL. Well, that is about all. They get paid.

Senator LA FOLLETTE. Where did they put the men up on this New Orleans job?* Where did they house and feed them?

Mr. KUHL. They slept in car barns. . . .

* A street-car strike against the New Orleans Public Service.

Senator LA FOLLETTE. And who were MacGuffin's aides on this job?

Mr. KUHL. Well, there were quite a number of aides there. It covered five barns. . . . MacGuffin was in charge. This C. W. Williams was next. And then I was sort of an assistant to C. W. Williams. . . .

Senator LA FOLLETTE. Are there different rates of pay between finks and nobles and lieutenants?

Mr. KUHL. Yes. Well, I can go down the line, start from the top and tell you the pay. MacGuffin received $50 in salary.

Senator LA FOLLETTE. A day?

Mr. KUHL. And $50 expenses a day, and a bonus.

Senator LA FOLLETTE. What is the bonus for?

Mr. KUHL. Well, probably if it is a good job, a very good paying job, why there would be a bonus connected with it. Williams received $25 a day and a bonus. That bonus was a verbal bonus, and went something like this: For all of the time he laid off the drink or the booze why he would receive a bonus. Myself and the rest of these fellows I mentioned, we received $20 a day. Naturally, we make more money on these jobs, you know, when these men are housed up in these barns, and take particularly a street-car job where there is a lot of money transacted, why these finks, they keep all the money, you know, that they take in on the cars. And they do a lot of gambling. These lieutenants of the barn take care of the games, and that is their cut. And they cut pretty heavy.

Senator LA FOLLETTE. What do you think some of them made on that job?

Mr. KUHL. Well, I don't know. The word come out that Williams had himself $15,000 or $18,000. . . .

Senator LA FOLLETTE. Were you on the Republic Rubber job?

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Mr. KUHL. Yes; I helped hook a man on that job. . . .

Senator LA FOLLETTE. Where did you get the names of the prospects that might be hooked?

Mr. KUHL. Why, the manager there, the man that bought this service.

Senator LA FOLLETTE. The personnel manager or the manager of the company?

Mr. KUHL. I would say the manager of the company.

Senator LA FOLLETTE. He gave you a list of men he thought you might hook?

Mr. KUHL. He gave the National Corporation Service salesman a list of the men he wanted hooked.

Senator LA FOLLETTE. What type of men were they?

Mr. KUHL. Radical men; union men.

Senator LA FOLLETTE. Did you hook one of them?

Mr. KUHL. Yes. There was one of them hooked. I am pretty sure this fellow Cameron, or Campbell, or some name like that, he was hooked.

Senator LA FOLLETTE. Were you on the Johnson Bronze Company job at Newcastle?

MR. KUHL. Yes, sir.

Senator LA FOLLETTE. Do you know who sold that job?

Mr. KUHL. I think the first service that was sold to the Johnson Bronze that Harry R. Hill sold it. And that was inside stool-pigeon service that went on for a year or a year and a half before a strike occurred there.

Senator LA FOLLETTE. Do you know who did most of the hooking on that job?

Mr. KUHL. Well, I done some. Bill Gray done some. That is that W. H. Gray. And there were a number of street men that worked on that job, and they naturally wouldn't have to be hooked.

Senator LA FOLLETTE. What was the situation among the employees of that company, if you remember?

Mr. KUHL. Well, they were poorly paid. . . . There was quite a few girls and women working in there, and they received 10 cents an hour. I heard that even the telephone operator received 10 cents an hour. . . .

Senator LA FOLLETTE. And who was in charge of the strike-breakers and the street operators?

Mr. KUHL. Well, John McCabe was in charge. . . .

Senator LA FOLLETTE. Do you remember how many were used there?

Mr. KUHL. Oh, about a hundred.

Senator LA FOLLETTE. Was any gas used on that job?

Mr. KUHL. Yes, sir.

Senator LA FOLLETTE. How did you get it?

Mr. KUHL. Why, the Johnson Bronze bought that gas direct from the Lake Erie Chemical Company. The National Corporation Service wouldn't let their name enter in that they would buy gas.

Senator LA FOLLETTE. Was there much trouble?

Mr. KUHL. Yes, sir. There wasn't anybody killed, but there was considerable beat up, and they finally run all the strike-breakers out of town.

Senator LA FOLLETTE. Did the street operators help to cause the trouble?

Mr. KUHL. Well, I don't know whether this is the truth or not, but G. W. Fiske, one of the street operators, told me when he seen this riot, or all these bricks and gas flying around, he said, "I was trying to hit you with a brick," and says, "I don't know whether I got you, but I probably got somebody else in there." He was right out there in the pickets throwing them bricks.

Senator LA FOLLETTE. Is that customary, for one operator to heave a brick at another?

Mr. KUHL. Well, he told that. I don't know whether it is a fact or not. But the chances are if he got a chance he would throw a brick at me.

Senator LA FOLLETTE. Was there any work done there to form a company union?

Mr. KUHL. Yes, sir. . . .

Senator LA FOLLETTE. How did that work out?

Mr. KUHL. Well, from both inside and outside. These inside operators would talk and talk against the union, the American Federation of Labor, and use a point similar to this, "Well, why pay dues to a lot of organizers, presidents, secretaries, one thing and another?" And another, "For instance, if we give a dollar here in our particular local only a quarter stays here, and so much goes down to Columbus at the state headquarters, and the rest goes to Washington. So out of an actual dollar we put in the American Federation of Labor union, why we only keep that quarter here. Now, if we keep a company union we don't pay any dues, and we save those dues, which will amount to $2 or $3 a month." . . .

Senator LA FOLLETTE. Did you have anything to do with the Akron rubber accounts, at Akron, Ohio?

Mr. KUHL. Yes, sir.

Senator LA FOLLETTE. Tell us about that.

Mr. KUHL. There were three companies that the National Corporation Service had business with. On the Goodrich I paid those "ops" over there, and contacted McLaughlin, Cassell, Bailey, and one or two others I can't recall. I also was arrested in Akron.

Senator LA FOLLETTE. What were you arrested for?

Mr. KUHL. Causing a disturbance, trying to break up a union meeting.

Senator LA FOLLETTE. Where did that happen?

Mr. KUHL. At one of the public schools.

Senator LA FOLLETTE. Just describe that for us, how you operated, how you went about it, and what happened.

Mr. KUHL. MacGuffin got me to carry there a supposed bunch of gorillas.

Senator LA FOLLETTE. What are gorillas?

Mr. KUHL. I don't know, you read the newspapers, that is where I got the word—these strong-arm men.

Senator LA FOLLETTE. Are they the same as finks?

Mr. KUHL. Yes. They wanted this union meeting busted and there was a party that Bill Gray had in tow by the name of Felix Catlin, quite a soap-box orator. He was supposed to get in there and make a speech. I went over the first Sunday, and Felix failed to connect, and didn't make any speech. I came back to the office and was reprimanded by Mr. MacGuffin that the job didn't go through, so the next Sunday we went back again and practically the same thing happened.

Senator LA FOLLETTE. With the same plans laid?

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Mr. KUHL. With the same plans, and this Felix, he fell through again.

Senator LA FOLLETTE. Did you talk to Felix to find out why he didn't make these speeches?

Mr. KUHL. I am not supposed to talk to him, I am supposed to be on the opposite side of the fence when Felix goes in to make his speech. It didn't happen, and I thought, well, I will go back to Youngstown again, and I will hear about this, so I thought I would start a little commotion in there.

Senator LA FOLLETTE. What did you do?

Mr. KUHL. Destroyed a little property, broke some chairs and windows.

Senator LA FOLLETTE. All by yourself?

Mr. KUHL. There was another fellow with me by the name of J. P. South. We were caught and brought down to the police station. We didn't say very much, naturally; the unions wanted us to, but we kept our mouths shut, and MacGuffin's attorney came over and got us out. . . .

Senator LA FOLLETTE. What do you recall about the Lake Erie Power and Light job at Bellevue, Ohio?

Mr. KUHL. That was against a municipal power plant that the mayor and probably two or three councilmen were in favor of putting in this power plant. This would be financed by one of the government agencies, I don't know what it was, the FRA or one of them that finances, and naturally this Lake Erie Power Company was opposed to it. A fellow named Fiske and myself went up there and opened this job. Our cover was that we told about the bad water, and that in fact they needed a new water plant more than they needed a light plant, but we convinced them, that is, this management of the power company, that two of us wasn't enough, and we built the job up to about six.

Senator LA FOLLETTE. Was the water really bad there?

Mr. KUHL. Yes; the water was bad, it was a good talking point. Three or four of us were arrested in that town, too.

Senator LA FOLLETTE. How did that happen?

Mr. KUHL. Well, these city councilmen or mayor became suspicious of us, and one of these fellows, by the name of Earl Smith, he happened to look like some fugitive from the law from Detroit that the authorities were looking for, and they picked him up on suspicion and held him there, and then went around and found the rest of us, and they thought probably we might be all broke out of jail.

Senator LA FOLLETTE. Was he really wanted, or was it a case of mistaken identity?

Mr. KUHL. It was a case of mistaken identity.

Senator LA FOLLETTE. Why did you leave the work in 1935 for the Corporation Service?

Mr. KUHL. I was fed up with it; I didn't want any more.

Senator LA FOLLETTE. Why was that?

Mr. KUHL. I can't explain just the way I would like to explain, but I thought the work was pretty dirty, and I thought I would get out of it.

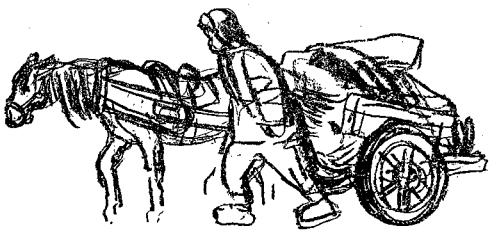
Haven at Hankow

BY CRISPIAN CORCORAN

Hankow, December 1

NANKING has come to Hankow. Old residents, used to nodding to every foreigner met along the street, glance bewildered at the flood of new faces. *Evacués* from Nanking, on the other hand, recognize in the crowd moving snakelike along the river front the continuation of the evacuation parade along Chungshan Road, chief artery of the capital—with the difference that here the crowd is on foot. In Nanking the procession was made up of thousands of passenger cars, light trucks, and heavy Diesel buses. Hankow moves on foot or in rickshas, sometimes in old-fashioned victorias drawn by shaggy, half-starved Mongolian ponies.

I came to Hankow with the rest of Nanking, and with the rest of Nanking spent my first day here seeking a place to stay; room is rare and precious now in this city which has become the vortex of a swelling flood of refugees—from Shanghai, from Nanking, from the lost north. Like many others, I found a place only through submitting to robbery—the charge was $15 a day for accommodations normally costing $3. The room, moreover, was not entirely my own; in the other bed was a White Russian general turned instructor in Chiang Kai-shek's Central Military Academy. The general was fat, erudite, and beamingly pessimistic. He cheerfully pointed out "fatal errors" by the Chinese high command and expressed his belief that the regular forces of the country were being wiped out and his disbelief in the possibility or efficacy of popular resistance in the form of widespread guerrilla warfare. It was too bad, he burbled.



Downstairs, at lunch, I found myself at a table with two French fliers who after fighting Franco for nine months in Spain had come to China as part of a group organized by an American bombing expert to fight Japan—for a consideration. They were full of news, but weren't telling any to a newspaperman, only discussing it among themselves in

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French. The gist of it was that foreign pilots were already flying with the Chinese army; some had been shot down, and among the dead were four Americans. The chief talk of the town is of the Soviet planes, their superlative speed and general excellence. China's official Central News Agency has reported that seven Japanese naval units composing part of the fleet attempting to force the boom at Kiangyin were bombed and sunk by planes of the new Chinese air force, which is composed not only of Soviet planes but also of imported French and German machines and Curtiss-Hawk models manufactured in China, except for the engines, by American concessionaires. Nobody seems surprised or particularly skeptical. Planes buzz over the city constantly. They are new—and good.

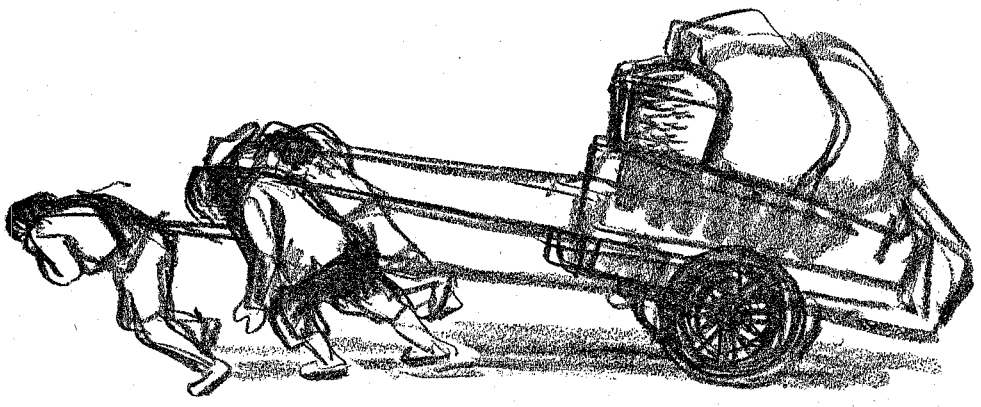
In the afternoon, a walk through the chief streets of the city. On every hoarding are fresh wall newspapers and cartoons. They are signed by various National Salvation groups composed of workers, students, intellectuals. The bookstores are full of new publications. Predominant are the works of National Salvation leaders—notably of the seven who were arrested early this year and released after the outbreak of hostilities. One paper can be recognized as the organ of China's battle-hardened Communist Party—its name a slogan, *People's Front*. One is the Hankow edition of an extremely successful venture started in Shanghai, a resistance newspaper made up entirely of cartoons. The *War News Pictorial* is devoted to photographs taken at the various fronts.

In dilapidated Chungshan Park, crowded Hankow's only pleasance, a fête was being held in honor of five thousand members of the citizens' military training corps who had completed their three months' course. The citizen soldiers, surrounded by a huge mass of townspeople, wounded soldiers, and tough-looking Kwangsi warriors on their way to the front, watched a popular play performed on an open-air dais. The play was "Throw Down Your Whip!" foretelling the end of oppression. The star was a famous Shanghai actress, Lily Li. Afterward the citizen soldiers went through smart military evolutions, marched up one of the arterial roads, were dismissed, instantly dropped their martial bearing, and ran to their friends in the crowd, proud and smiling.

Nanking was a collection of handsome administrative buildings scattered about as if at random, with wide spaces between them. The people tilled their fields calmly in the interstices of the city, walked humbly along the unpaved sides of gleaming asphalt thoroughfares, did not count for much. But Hankow is a city of the people, so brimful that officials who have spent their lives writing things on little bits of paper in spacious rooms now are unable to write because of the mass of humanity jiggling their elbows, and sit bewildered in all sorts of holes and corners serving as bedrooms, storerooms, file-rooms, and offices. In Nanking they looked at the crowd from Olympian heights; here they are dwarfed by the massed humanity, a mass which is becoming increasingly conscious of its own strength.

Six months ago Liu Liang-mo, moving spirit of China's patriotic singing movement, told me of the readiness with which the great commonalty learned words and music and assimilated the lessons of songs of resistance—and told me of Japanese pressure and official efforts to hush the full-throated chants of the people. Today the "March of the Northeastern Volunteers" with its thundering *Cheelai* (Arise!) is on the lips of everyone. Wherever you go on the streets of Hankow, someone is humming it. Soldiers, townspeople, children, all sing it. You hear it in trains, on the lips of sailors on Yangtze steamers. Wherever men march in groups it keeps time with their swinging stride.

There are two mass movements here. One is officially inspired, dignified, fairly well supplied with money. The other is just beginning to stir and be articulate; it is given no encouragement because the fear of "radicalism" still pervades official ranks. But the air is charged with it as it is charged with the song of the Volunteers, whose ringing appeal *Tungpei Tungpao* (Brothers of the Northeast) has now been altered to *Chuan Kuo Tungpao* (Brothers throughout the country), *Cheelai!* Arise!



Drawings by John Groth

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Uncle Sam, Privileged Boss

BY STERLING D. SPERO AND SAMUEL PAUL PUNER

THE recent decision of the C. I. O. to establish a union of federal workers has again brought the question of the government's relation to its more than 800,000 civil employees into the public forum. President Roosevelt used the occasion to say:

> Organizations of government employees have a logical place in government affairs. The desire of government employees for fair and adequate pay, reasonable hours of work, safe and suitable working conditions, development of opportunities for advancement, facilities for fair and impartial consideration and review of grievances, and other objectives of a proper employee-relation policy is basically no different from that of employees in private industry.

Then, true to the traditional practice of the government employer of hedging every recognition of its employees' rights with partially nullifying restrictions, the President continued:

> All government employees should realize that the process of collective bargaining, as usually understood, cannot be transplanted into the public service. . . . The very nature and purposes of government make it impossible for administrative officials to represent fully or to bind the employer in mutual discussions with government-employee organizations. . . . Particularly, I want to emphasize my conviction that militant tactics have no place in the functions of any organization of government employees. . . . Since their own services have to do with the functioning of the government, a strike of public employees manifests nothing less than an intent on their part to prevent or obstruct the operations of government until their demands are satisfied. Such action, looking toward the paralysis of government by those who have sworn to support it, is unthinkable and intolerable.

This is merely a restatement of the government's long-established labor policy. Every guaranty of freedom of action which federal workers have in law or public regulation is accompanied directly or inferentially by some restriction limiting its full exercise. Thus an act of Congress permits them to join a labor organization but, if they are postal workers, not one "affiliated with any outside organization imposing an obligation or duty . . . to engage in any strike . . . against the United States." The Civil Service rules recognize their right "to vote as they please," but declare that they must "take no active part in political management or in political campaigns." The law says that they may "individually or collectively . . . petition Congress," but the President says that "militant tactics have no place in the functions" of any of their organizations.

On what does the government base its claim that it is entitled to special privileges as an employer? It bases this claim, first, upon the necessities of sovereignty, second, upon the exceptional social importance of the functions which it performs, and third, upon the impartial or neutral character of the public services. These assumptions have long been accepted as political axioms, but closer examination reveals that the government employer is receiving special consideration hardly warranted by the facts of the situation. The functions of government employees, disregarding for the moment the distinction between federal and local, fall roughly into four categories: administrative, industrial, service, and law enforcement. For the most part, these activities parallel, compete with, or supplement non-governmental activities. The administrative functions are similar to those which any large business concern or institution must carry on in order to operate at all, and include clerical work, auditing, correspondence, and the like. Certainly there is nothing in the character of these services to justify the government's claim for special consideration as an employer. The industrial functions include the operation of plants for the manufacture or repair of supplies and equipment, and they supplement or compete with private industry. It would be difficult, indeed, to maintain that the manufacture of armament in government arsenals or ships in government navy yards is more greatly affected with the public interest than the manufacture of these in private plants. The service functions—the conduct of utilities, education, welfare institutions, and so on—are likewise paralleled by the work of private organizations.

Nor do the law-enforcement functions of the state present a problem different from the rest. The fact that they are peculiarly the functions of public authority endows them with no sacrosanct characteristics which entitle them to special consideration. Like all other social functions they must be judged and tested by their social validity. Furthermore, the processes by which law-enforcement functions operate, like other social processes, are dependent upon the smooth running of the whole social machine. New York or Chicago could not be policed at night if employees of private industry did not keep the lights on. The law could not be enforced and public order could not be maintained in modern society if the privately owned communication and transportation systems did not continue to operate. The continuity of governmental functions depends upon society as a whole, not exclusively upon the government's law-enforcement employees. If the governmental agency can insist upon special privileges here which would restrict the civil rights of its employees, including the right to strike, its claim can logically be extended to all employees in socially vital industries. The definition of a socially vital industry

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can obviously be almost indefinitely extended until the working class has been stripped of its defenses.

The government's claim to special privileges as an employer does not merely limit employee activity in the larger field of action; through restrictive laws and practices it has also served to deprive the government worker of adequate redress when official superiors have disciplined him for organization activity specifically guaranteed him by law. There has been a surprising number of such cases, not only in past years but during this Administration. One of the most flagrant of these cases is that of Jonathan Levine, who before he was brought up on charges had been employed as a clerk in the New York Post Office for eight years, and had achieved an efficiency rating of 98 per cent. The case begins with the dismissal of another clerk, Herman Edelsberg, whose union activities had got him into trouble with the department. Edelsberg was dismissed for a technical violation of the rules, a violation which fourteen of his fellow-clerks, over their signatures, declared was necessary and had therefore been condoned for years by the supervisors in his station. The offense was changing die stamps on the cancelation machines five minutes before instead of on the hour.

At a meeting of the New York Post Office Clerks' Union, Local 10 of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks, an A. F. of L. affiliate, a resolution was unanimously adopted by the membership condemning the department's action and setting up a special committee to work for Edelsberg's reinstatement, as well as for the broader objective of legislation providing for the right of appeal, by dismissed workers, to an impartial agency. The members of this committee, which included Jonathan Levine, were all service veterans, having been on the job for twenty-seven, eighteen, thirteen, nine, eight, and seven years respectively. In the midst of the committee's campaign, the department, without any warning, cited each of the members for removal "for composing, aiding, and abetting in the preparation of untruthful statements, thereby reflecting discredit upon the service, and causing the publication in newspapers of said ambiguous, untruthful, and misleading statements tending to bring the service into disrepute." While it has always been the practice of government departments to dispose of removal cases in comparatively short order, these cases hung fire for nine months. Suddenly the removal citations against five of the committeemen were dropped and lighter sentences imposed; Levine alone was dismissed from the service, despite the explicit provision in the Civil Service rules that "in making removals or reductions, and in other punishment, like penalties shall be imposed for like offenses."

The Levine case, in its disregard of established employee rights, is by no means unique. The sanctimonious formulas of "bringing the service into disrepute," "conduct unbecoming a government employee," "for the good of the service" have been used many times to give the record the appearance of truth and to avoid bringing particularly flagrant cases before the public. The law places no effective restrictions on the power of governmental executives to discharge their employees, and such discharges, with minor exceptions, cannot be reviewed by the Civil Service Commission, the courts, or such agencies as the National Labor Relations Board.

Dismissals for union activity have not been confined to old-line departments like the Post Office but have taken place in New Deal agencies as well. The cases of William Sumpf and Bernard Schultz, who were dismissed from the Baltimore office of the Social Security Board, were referred to an arbitrator as a result of pressure by the C. I. O. union, the United Federal Workers of America. Hearings on the case began on August 11, 1937. A decision recommending the reinstatement of the employees was rendered on October 26. But since this arbitration was extra-legal, the two employees improperly removed suffered loss of pay for the time they were out of the service. And even after the arbitrator's decision, it appeared for a time that one of the employees, Schultz, might not go back to his job. His reemployment medical examination disclosed diabetes, though several very recent examinations, both governmental and private, had not discovered it. Whether or not this examination report was correct is actually less significant than the fact that many government workers were ready to believe it a subterfuge to evade a decision against a department. These workers know that governmental agencies are not above resorting to devices which the government condemns or actually forbids by law in private industry.

A case in point is the disclosure of incipient company unionism in the Department of Agriculture. Last July the personnel director of this department issued a "Memorandum for Employees in Washington" announcing the establishment of an Employee Activities Council, "to consist of a board of five members . . ., three to be selected by the officers of the Welfare Association, and two from all other employee organizations which care to participate." One of the "duties of the council" is to "contact the Director of Personnel on matters of general policy in order that the employee activities . . . may conform to the standards desired by the department."

Another variant of company unionism, a sort of limited "employee-representation plan," was recently launched in, of all places, the Department of Labor. Back in 1933 Secretary Perkins set up a Conciliation Committee to handle grievances in the department, but the Committee functioned so rarely that it had been all but forgotten. Then suddenly, after three requests for conferences with the United Federal Workers had come to her desk, the Secretary ordered that whenever an employee felt that he had a grievance which had not received proper consideration, the matter should be referred to the Conciliation Committee. Reference was thus made compulsory to a committee consisting of six supervisors, including the Secretary's assistant acting as chairman, and six employee members appointed by the Secretary, responsible solely to her, and required to keep the proceedings confidential. True, the Secretary appointed nominees of the unions—the National Federation of Federal Employees (formerly A. F. of L. and now independent), the American Federation of Government Employees (A. F. of L.), and the United Federal

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Workers of America (C. I. O.). This, however, only made matters worse by giving an illusion of union representation not justified by the facts, since the Secretary was free to reject these nominees, who actually were her representatives, not the employees', and were not permitted to report to their unions.

The United Federal Workers protested against being compelled to submit to the judgment of six officials and four rival union members, and to lend its sanction to the plan by participating as a hopeless minority. When the newspapers printed the report that the C. I. O. union would carry its demand to represent its members in direct negotiation with responsible departmental officials directly to the President, the Secretary of Labor yielded.

These events should make it clear that statements of enlightened personnel policy or broad legal guaranties of civil rights to government workers are not sufficient to prevent governmental employers from pursuing policies forbidden to employers in private industry. Unless machinery is devised to curb the power of public authorities to interfere with the free organization of their employees through their practically unlimited power to discipline, the law's guaranties will continue to mean but little.

Los Angeles Grows Up

BY OLIVER CARLSON

Los Angeles, December 20

"UNUSUAL," "amazing," "unique," those words so commonly associated with a description of Southern California's climate, have this year been used by awe-struck Angelenos to describe the sudden metamorphosis of Los Angeles from an open-shop paradise into a seething center of labor unrest. That this year-round health resort and realtors' paradise should become a great industrial metropolis was inevitable, given its favorable geographical location, low taxes, cheap power rates, modern harbor, and abundant supply of labor, recruited in part from movie-struck youngsters and semi-retired Middle Westerners. But the amazing growth of unionism and the imminent arrival of the closed shop in every major industry are still incomprehensible to many of the inhabitants.

Los Angeles leads the nation in airplane manufacture, oil refining, and motion-picture production. It ranks next to Detroit in automobile assembly, next to Akron in the manufacture of tires, and is number three in furniture. In the manufacture of wearing apparel, in printing and publishing, meat packing, and machine shops it is well up among the leaders. Only yesterday all these industries were completely open shop. Mere skeleton organizations existed among the building trades, teamsters, clothing workers, machinists, retail clerks, musicians, and screen actors. Printers and longshoremen were not much better off. Strikes were a rarity. The Labor Temple, shabby and forlorn, was inhabited by a handful of organizers, low in spirit and lower in funds. The leading business men had banded together as early as 1890 under the leadership of General Harrison Grey Otis, publisher of the Los Angeles *Times,* to fight the inroads of unionism. When the McNamara brothers confessed to the dynamiting of the *Times* building in 1910, a body blow was delivered to the local unions. Labor was to remain impotent for nearly a quarter of a century.

The inauguration of the NRA did a little to arouse the giant from his apathy. A come-back was staged at that time by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and, to a lesser degree, by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. Federal requirements for union labor on PWA projects proved a godsend to the building-trades organizers. The successful strike of the San Francisco longshoremen in 1934 brought a campaign of organization in San Pedro. Labor's forces were also strengthened by the "Production for Use" slogan of Sinclair's EPIC movement, which awakened thousands to the power of organization. And the depression wrenched the dominant middle class from its narrow sheltered groove, threw thousands of its members into a precarious economic state, and made them particularly receptive to labor's point of view. Later the establishment of the National Labor Relations Board and the fearless and aggressive manner in which it functioned here under its regional director, Dr. Towne Nylander, did much to stiffen the backbones of employees long used to threats and discrimination, while news of the successes achieved by labor in the Midwest and East inflamed their spirits.

Labor began to stir on so many fronts that organizers were at a premium. Unions advertised in the daily papers for them. Boys and girls fresh from college, ex-organizers for the many political reform movements that had swept over Southern California, workers direct from bench and lathe rushed to the leadership of organized labor. Desire for organization blossomed in groups hitherto looked upon as hopeless—teachers, lawyers, doctors, technicians, social workers, screen actors, screen writers, newspapermen, even movie directors. The lowly Mexican laborer earning five dollars a week became a union "brother" of the famous screen hero.

The threatened destruction of the cherished open-shop tradition was immediately combated by the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association. Spearhead of the militant "open-shoppers" since 1897, this organization uses intimidation, propaganda, and violence, and serves as both board of strategy and financial fountain-head in the fight to keep "labor racketeers" out of Los Angeles. Its

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membership is kept secret, but that it embraces a large percentage of the heads and personnel managers of every important factory, merchandising organization, and farm association in Los Angeles and environs is well known. The association's offensive at first caused many of the old-time union organizers to beat a retreat. But the leadership was soon seized by younger spirits from the Middle West and East, who took advantage of the friendly attitude of the federal Administration to lay the groundwork for new unions.

Two years ago Los Angeles had less than 20,000 unionists. Today there are about 125,000 almost evenly divided between the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O.—although the former alone claims 100,000. The Labor Temple is a beehive of activity with business agents and organizers everywhere. No fewer than 191 local unions are affiliated with the Central Labor Council of the A. F. of L., and 30,000 union members marched in the Labor Day parade. The Los Angeles *Citizen,* official organ of the A. F. of L., once a feeble four-page sheet, has quadrupled in size and circulation. Its columns are filled with advertisements and greetings from business houses. Local politicians have become labor's "dearest friends."

The impetus given to mass organization of labor by the formation of the C. I. O. seems to be more obvious in Los Angeles than elsewhere. During the past year powerful C. I. O. unions have been set up in more than twenty industries, with a membership which today amounts to more than 50,000. The largest of these is the Automobile and Aircraft Workers' Union, with from 13,000 to 15,000 members. It embraces a majority of the men in the General Motors, Chrysler, Ford, and Willys plants and has strong representation among the Northrop, North American, and Douglas Aircraft companies. Ten thousand steel workers of Southern California, fully 50 per cent of all steel and steel-fabricating workers in the region, are also in the C. I. O. And what is important, the men already organized are in the large plants of United States Steel, Bethlehem Steel, the American and Continental Can companies, and other key corporations. The Rubber Workers' Union has enrolled nearly 4,000 members in the great plants of Goodyear, Goodrich, and United States Rubber. The Oil Workers' Union has more than 5,000 members, and in the face of relentless opposition is winning its way against the giant corporations, Standard Oil and Shell. The Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers' Union already has from 8,000 to 10,000 members. The longshoremen, about 3,600 strong at the port, have added approximately 3,000 new members from the warehousemen. Between 3,000 and 5,000 agricultural workers and more than 1,000 dairymen are now enrolled under the banner of the C. I. O. In addition organizations have been set up in the electrical and radio industry, among the shipyard workers, office workers, government employees, laundry workers, newsboys, and communications workers; and thousands of persons in the motion-picture, meat-packing, and furniture industries are openly sympathetic with the C. I. O. and await the opportunity to join.

These figures make the picture seem a rosy one, but in reality the C. I. O. is in a critical situation. It must subdue the open-shop interests now organized for militant self-defense. It must fight the company unions which have been set up to prevent its inroads. It must carry on the battle with the Old Guard of the A. F. of L., who are leaving no stone unturned in their effort to wipe out this lusty competitor. And last but by no means least, it is torn by bitter internal struggle for control between Communist and anti-Communist groups.

Here as elsewhere Communists have been active in the C. I. O. almost from its inception. Though a decided minority, they have managed by bloc action and clever maneuvering to obtain an influence in the local Industrial Council and in some of the unions out of proportion to their numerical strength. And they have used their influence to push forward their party, its program, its fringe organizations, and its publications.

The red scare is being whipped up all through California but particularly in Los Angeles, and it has already weakened many C. I. O. groups. The whole officialdom of the A. F. of L. has joined in the hue and cry. At the state convention a veritable witch-hunting campaign was launched against what State Secretary Edward D. Vandeleur described as "the C. I. O.–Moscow combine." A resolution proposing the appointment of a commission by President Roosevelt to bring peace between the C. I. O. and the A. F. of L. was voted down on the ground that "under the guise of 'unity' it would give aid and comfort to the Communist-controlled, secessionist, would-be union-breaking, so-called C. I. O." The appointment of Harry Bridges as C. I. O. director for the West Coast did not help this situation, since, able as he is, the red label has been firmly attached to him.

With a labor movement still in its swaddling clothes, Los Angeles has become the scene of the most violent conflict in the whole country between the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. The arguments used have been court injunctions, blackjacks, crowbars, and six-shooters. Four months ago Dave Beck's mop-up boys descended upon Los Angeles to remove the menace of the C. I. O. for all time. William Green's white-haired boy was hailed with joy even by bitterly open-shop industrialists. But while they were willing to give his men aid and encouragement in fighting the C. I. O. unions, they were not prepared to let Beck run them. This he tried to do, and in their anger the open-shoppers have almost forgotten the red menace. In tens of thousands of working men and women this fratricidal struggle has aroused a growing skepticism of the value of unions controlled by either organization, and masses are enrolling under the banner of "independent" unions which to all intents and purposes are company controlled. The big push of the legitimate unions is over for the time being.

The scent of orange blossoms is still in the air. Stately palms still line Los Angeles streets and boulevards. Trim little stucco bungalows, set amid shrubs and flowers, make a picture of peace and contentment. These are but surface appearances. Beneath is a gigantic commercial-industrial set-up; new economic and political forces are surging. Los Angeles has grown up!

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Issues and Men

BY OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

THE news that President Roosevelt is going to ask Congress for more money for the navy, somewhere between $560,000,000 and a billion, in addition to the regular appropriations for army and navy, which have now risen to the astounding total of $1,250,000,000 a year, is disheartening but not surprising. I was so sure that he would plunge us into militarism and navalism if elected that I refused to vote for him in 1932 and 1936. I have no doubt that Congress will grant the money and that the business world will approve of it despite all the howls about balancing the budget. We are in a state of hysteria because of the Japanese developments, and most people say that they are for any amount of armament if that will only keep us out of war. But as Calvin Coolidge said to the American Legion, no amount of armaments ever kept any country out of war; Stanley Baldwin, now Earl Baldwin, said a few years later that if Europe rearmed it would not mean peace but war.

The new Roosevelt program is being represented to the country in the newspaper dispatches as "rearmament." That is, of course, an absolute falsehood. We have never been armed as this program now proposes to arm us. Next it is represented as a good thing because it will put a lot of men to work building battleships and cruisers, and so prime the pump once more for the heavy industries. That is also dubious. The chief beneficiaries of battleship and cruiser building will be the six shipyards that have a monopoly, whose bids on the last two battleships advertised were so high that the government decided to build them in two of its own yards. When done, the battleships will represent pure economic waste. At best their life will be twenty years; there are plenty of army and navy officers who believe, as did the late General William Mitchell, that the day of the battleship was over long ago. As for priming the pump, even the New York *Times* has found it necessary to warn the country that rearmament programs abroad and in this country are not helping recovery but injuring and delaying it. Rearmament creates an entirely fictitious prosperity. England is now spending $7,500,000,000 for rearmament over five years. Hundreds of factories are expanding their plants, taking on workers, operating day and night. When that money is spent, there will be unemployed workers and idle factories unless the demand which will then go up for manufacturers to continue rearmament so that employment and profits may keep up becomes controlling, and a need for still more battleships, airplanes, tanks, heavy artillery, and all the other paraphernalia of modern war is suddenly discovered.

It is a dance of death—economic death—even if war does not come. Here my star witness is again Stanley Baldwin, who said three years before he began rearming England that if the rearmament race were undertaken in Europe, several nations would go into bankruptcy. Yet he swallowed his words, and wound up his career by fastening this terrific program upon England. These are totally unproductive expenditures. They create no great public works, like the TVA or the magnificent bridges that we are getting all over the country, thanks to government funds. A single invention may make utterly useless and antiquated a large portion of the armaments created. But we are told that it is a necessary insurance and that we must no more cavil at the size of the premium than would a business man who insures his plant and inventory. Yet the simple fact is that these rearmament programs make nowhere for lasting prosperity, but bring grave evils in their train.

The most criminal part of the Roosevelt program is the fact that it is not being thought through. The President insists that we are arming only for defense, but asks for offensive battleships, and he cannot deny that there is no comprehensive plan for a defense of the coasts of the United States that anybody has ever heard of. Generals like Smedley Butler and Johnson Hagood have pointed this out repeatedly, but nothing happens. We just pour money out with no plan, no established government policy. We have never settled what we are going to defend or where we are going to defend it; nor have we coordinated army and navy. We even have four government air forces uncoordinated and buying airplanes separately. No business man would dream of embarking on so vast a program without having the objectives and aims carefully worked out by experts; he would go bankrupt if he did. The President, however, gives no sign that he realizes the ramifications of what he is now doing. More battleships and cruisers mean more officers and more men, who become a permanent charge if only because they constantly increase the retired lists—more privileged persons entitled to government support until they die. They mean more shipbuilders and armament manufacturers who feel that the government is committed to support them to the end of time. Those companies which are monopolies, like the one which builds parachutes, have every reason to rejoice, but not the taxpayers, or those who feel that in the long run we must balance the budget, a decent budget which shall take care adequately, as we never yet have done, of the humanitarian needs of the country. To say that we need to arm more against the Japanese is ridiculous, as I pointed out last week on the authority of no less a person than Franklin D. Roosevelt himself. We cannot war upon them with fleets, nor they upon us.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

CAPITALISM AS MAGIC

BY MAX LERNER

WE are a perverse lot. Thurman Arnold has written a witty, learned book,* full of principles and examples, to prove for all time that learned books full of principles and examples are feckless and insubstantial things — mere symbols to mediate between our lingering illusions and the advancing world of reality. And having been told that learning and theorizing are so much eyewash, we flock in hordes to buy and devour this particular offering.

This is Mr. Arnold's second book, his first, "The Symbols of Government" (published last year), having had little more than a *succès d'estime*. He pursues pretty much the same theme in both books, for Mr. Arnold is a tenacious sort of fellow, who has got hold of some ideas that are good things; and with these ideas he has been poking about, like a photographer with a good camera and a remarkably fresh eye, in all sorts of corners and emerging with pictures of men, their minds, and their society that have been shot from startling angles.

It is rather characteristic of the book that one's first impulse is not to tell what it says, but to give examples. The book is molecular. It mounts up by aggregation, like Burton's "Thousand and One Nights," rather than by systematic exposition, like John Stuart Mill's "Principles of Logic." The beautiful thing about it is that the author has violated every rule on how to write a treatise—which may account for his brilliant achievement. I nominate him for whatever prize, from the Pulitzer up, is awarded to the man who best succeeds in being the *enfant terrible* of his craft and in standing our world on its head.

The total effect is joyous. To give a connected account of the theme of the book would be, therefore, like giving a solemn report on a gay and buoyant Mardi Gras one has just come away from. It is not so much what happened that counts as the general spirit of the thing. Everyone was dressed in costume, and there was a lot of snatching off of false faces, and Dorothy Thompson and Westbrook Pegler and Walter Lippmann looked rather sheepish when theirs were torn off, but no one could feel upset about it because eventually it happened to everyone. The place was a veritable shambles before you got through, with punctured windbags going off everywhere and shirt-stuffing lying about inches thick.

But there is far more in the book than wit and paradox and iconoclasm. There is a heroic attempt to see our economic system and our ideas about it in anthropological terms. Mr. Arnold adopts what Kroeber has called the "anthropological attitude" toward our own culture. He watches us much as an ethnologist might watch a ceremonial dance among the Hopi Indians, with the same detachment and lively curiosity. His basic thesis is that the "society" we live in is actually a whole set of smaller social organizations within larger social organizations, like boxes within boxes—family, club, church, business firm, university, government; that these organizations have in common certain creeds, rituals, and mythology; that the so-called "sound thinking" of law and economics and political theory is in itself so much folklore, used in order to give the members of the tribe a sense of tribal unity; that in expounding this folklore the high priests of scholarship and opinion in university and editorial room start with pictures of the world, already formed in their heads, which obscure their vision of the things they are trying to describe; that the result is that corporations are treated like glorified persons, the economic system as if it were an assemblage of hucksters instead of an army of industrial organization, government as if it were the malignant monster which tribal tradition says will eventually destroy the tribe; that the real function of the folklore of capitalism is not realistic accuracy, but consolation both to the thinker and the mass, and the shutting out of the unpleasant things that the encroaching world of reality is always trying to force on our consciousness; that our thinkers—radical, liberal, and conservative alike—are so obsessed with the ceremonial of logical consistency that they would rather be ineffective than follow the wrong ceremonial; that the best platform for an observer of government and society is to see the whole thing as a dramatic spectacle with a religious theme—a sort of miracle play, with opposing devils, angels, and gods; but that the art of political dynamics is secular and not theological, that it must deal not with logical systems and eternal verities but with functioning social organizations which yield to the skilled compromiser far more than to the scholar or the martyr.

As I reread this summary I know that I have not done the book justice. I shall attempt a very different sort of summary on another occasion, for Arnold's mind is so supple, so full of all sorts of marginal meanings, that you cannot make your full reckoning with it at once. He has been given some pretty lavish praise in the reviews, Fred Rodell comparing him with Karl Marx—to Marx's disadvantage; Alfred Bingham saying that the book will rank with Darwin's "Origin of Species" in the history of human thought; Stuart Chase seeing him as the new Machiavelli of our age; and Ralph Thompson calling the book the most penetrating political study in America since Thorstein Veblen's "Theory of the Leisure Class" in 1899. I think I see what they are driving at,

**The Folklore of Capitalism.* By Thurman W. Arnold. Yale University Press. $3.

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but those are large orders. Mr. Arnold does not pretend to be, like Machiavelli, Marx, and Veblen, a system-builder, an articulator of a new world consciousness. But his book is one of the most hopeful signs I have seen in some years of the vitality of American social thought.

That vitality has stemmed from the very thing that Mr. Arnold says the universities are not doing—the transcending of the boundaries between social disciplines. In fact Veblen's importance, forty years ago, was that he broke down the fences between economics, politics, anthropology, psychology, and law. Arnold himself is, as the reviewers say, "a phenomenon"—a Wyoming lawyer, formerly Mayor of Laramie, Dean of West Virginia Law School, now teaching law at Yale, a man who has brought some of the Wyoming horse sense into the pomposities of the academic disciplines. But that "phenomenon" cannot be understood unless we remember that Mr. Arnold is part of a whole movement of thought that has been indigenous to America—the "realist" school in law, the "institutionalist" school in economics and social theory, the "psychological" school in politics. What he has done has been to set down the insights of those schools, along with his own wit and sense of paradox, in the most sustained study of existing ways of thought that we have had in the post-depression years, of whose disillusionments it is to some extent a product.

Its weaknesses, like its strength, flow from the weaknesses of the institutionalist, realist, psychological schools. It is basically anti-rational, anti-intellectual, atomistic; it takes what is at best a metaphor—that society is a drama or a battle—and extends it until it becomes the basic method of analysis; it fails to see that the enormous strides that men have made since their beginnings have been due to the rational thinking about themselves and their world which is science, technology, social science; it concentrates on the words and ideas that we use, while in the tensions of our day we have a more dire need of understanding the economic realities. Nowhere does Mr. Arnold differentiate between the levels of symbolism—between the symbols that are mere abbreviations and those that are powerfully evocative ways of thought hard to displace. Nowhere does he distinguish between the over-rational symbols of law and economics and the too little rational symbols of popular opinion. Nowhere does he set the folklore that challenges the status quo against the folklore that hems it in and defends it—both systems of folklore, but how different in their class base, how vastly different in the resources of social power that are brought to their support! And nowhere, finally, does he make us understand that the battle of the symbols is not a bloodless battle of categories, and that history will be decided not by symbols alone but by the strength of what they stand for.

I have no objection to brilliant talk about capitalism as magic, and I get a lot of fun out of it. But I want more light on how capitalism works or doesn't work, and how to control it or displace it. The emphasis of the recent stream of books on the tyranny of words and the folklore of ideas is a healthy emphasis. We need to sharpen our tools, but the basic jobs still remain.

Red in the East

RED STAR OVER CHINA. By Edgar Snow. Random House. $3.

TODAY the future of the United States is generally admitted to be bound up with the future of the people on the other side of the Pacific. We have been nationally interested, and occasionally absorbed, in China for many years, but for the first time since the United States became a Pacific power we find that we can no longer afford not to know what China is about, and what the Chinese people really are like. Of course missionaries, school teachers, and the like generally have told us about the Chinese at great length. But what we want at this point is to hear the "inside story" from an unpretentious and representative American. Edgar Snow is such an American and he has given us the inside story.

Snow has not attempted to cover all of China. He has confined himself instead to that small and, until yesterday, nomadic minority—the Soviets. And he has portrayed them in the act of releasing that "discharge of katabolic energy" which, no matter how the present war ends, will never dissipate itself until China finally becomes a nation. This is why Snow had no need to cover non-Soviet China, and it is also the reason why he has written a social drama instead of another political polemic or survey. For decades foreign authorities have dogmatized about the impossibility of ever infusing social and political consciousness into the filth and squalor and indescribable horror that is Chinese peasant life. Snow himself recalls how in 1932 the peasants outside Shanghai continued to till their tiny patches, unperturbed by the fact that a war was raging on every side of them for the future of their country and inevitably of their precious land as well.

Snow's point is simply that the Soviets have changed all this. He shows how, wherever the Soviets have come—and they have covered many thousands of miles—peasant horizons have widened and peasant life has suddenly swept out of its age-old ruts and into the broad stream of Chinese life. To be sure, the red peasants and the Red Army men, or boys, talk in clichés. They attribute their success with the peasants to this or that factor. And if they do, why do they? Here is the answer. "Every youth there seemed to have a personal experience to relate to prove that the 'peasants like us.' I see from my notes that I wrote down seventeen different answers to that question."

In the middle of 1936 Snow learned about the political situation that had developed in northwestern China, in those same provinces which over 2,000 years ago had catapulted the Hans into China's first crusade for nationhood—the achievements of which are still visible in the Great Wall, where China's former red armies are now fighting the invader. The Young Marshal and his expatriated and irreconcilably nationalistic Manchurian troops had achieved an understanding with the Soviets whom they had been commissioned to extirpate. Snow himself was offered the opportunity to go to Sian, the Young Marshal's capital, soon to be Chiang Kai-shek's seat of judgment, and to fly in the Marshal's own airplane into the red districts. He accepted the offer and after some adventure ran the blockade on foot, the first white man to reach the first section in China where landlordism, Confucianism, illiteracy, taxation, and all the rest of it had been swept away. This is not to say that Soviet China was Communist or anything else but primitive. But unquestionably it provided the only base from which the progressive elements in China could operate until the entire nation would again be swept up in the national and democratic revolution

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which was interrupted in 1927. Snow quotes Mao Tse-tung, the Communist leader, as saying that the present union with the Kuomintang is "a great retreat" from the days when a proletarian dictatorship was the immediate goal. Be this as it may, the world is today agreed that China's outlaws and "bandits" of yesterday are playing a vital role today; and the outcome of this war becomes less significant beside this new and basic fact: China can never again rest until it is not only a united nation, as the Kuomintang doubtless wanted to make it, but a democratic one also, as the Kuomintang did not try to make it. And in this fact alone the Soviets can find more than vindication. This is why Snow's book about Soviet China is really a book about the new China.

Pages on pages of absorbing material tempt the reviewer: here is a brisk and comprehensive, not to say comprehensible, retelling of Chiang Kai-shek's kidnapping; here is an epic narrative of the great Long March; here are excellent and unique photographs. But above all here is a picture of the people who have revolutionized the old China. Take Mao himself first. Compressed into his life have been all the events of modern civilization. Born in 1893, he first saw a newspaper in 1911 and first came into contact with workers in 1920, by which time he had become a well-known revolutionary. And when he became a Communist, what were the three books that made up his mind for him? First the "Communist Manifesto," and then Kautsky's "Class Struggle," and an obscure history of socialism. From such seeds grew the strength of the man who is now opposing a formidably mechanized army in a war upon whose outcome the future of the Western world may well hinge.

Then there is leader P'eng Teh-huai. Listen to him tell what he came from:

> My grandmother regarded us all as her slaves. She was a heavy smoker of opium. I hated the smell of it, and one night, when I could stand it no longer, I kicked a pan of her opium from the stove. She was furious. She called a meeting of the whole clan, and formally demanded my death by drowning because I was an unfilial child.

And General Hsu Hai-tung, who had managed not to think of his family, until Snow got him to talk of them, since the time when the sixty-six relatives who could be traced to him had been executed for his sins. He related this incident that occurred in 1933, after the reds had recaptured a peasant district from the enemy:

> They led us out to a valley and showed us the scattered bodies of seventeen young women lying half-naked in the sun. They had all been raped and killed. The white troops had evidently been in a great hurry; they had taken the time to pull off only one leg of a girl's trousers. That day we called a meeting, the army held a memorial service there, and we all wept.

And there is General Chu Teh, the Hannibal of the 6,000-mile Long March:

> One might have thought he had everything he desired: wealth, power, love, descendants (by the score), poppy dreams, eminent respectability, and a comfortable future in which to preach the proprieties of Confucianism. He had, in fact, only one really bad habit, but it was to prove his downfall. He liked to read books.

And, finally, there is the very dignified Beau Brummel of the Young Vanguards, the snappiest-looking soldier in the town:

> Beside him Mao Tse-tung looked a tramp. But his name happened by some thoughtlessness of his parents to sound very much like chi-pa, and so to his unending mortification he was often called Chi-pa, which simply means "penis." One day he came into my little room in the Foreign Office with his usual quota of dignity, clicked his heels together, and addressed me as "Comrade Snow." He then proceeded to unburden his small heart of certain apprehensions. He had his name carefully scrawled down on a piece of paper, and this he deposited before me. I half expected him to offer me the choice of swords or pistols. But he thanked me, made a grave bow, and once more gave that preposterous salute. "I wanted to be sure," he said, "that when you write about me for the foreign papers you won't make a mistake in my name. It would give a bad impression to the foreign comrades if they thought a red soldier was named "Chi-pa."

With that remark, Snow says, the lad walked right into his book beside the generalissimo, the dignity of history notwithstanding. But this page and every other page in the book will absorb you with its sense of a people's consciousness—every last one of them—of the making and changing of history.

ELIOT JANEWAY

The Ways of Philosophy

FOUR WAYS OF PHILOSOPHY. By Irwin Edman. Henry Holt and Company. $2.

PHILOSOPHY is a discipline in which only the naive expect to find agreement, progress, or demonstrably true conclusions. In this it is more like poetry than science. Every generation is sure to discover some philosophers who protest that the situation is scandalous and attempt to reform the ways of philosophy. The history of philosophy is largely a history of these reforms. Many of these reforms yield insights which become part of a common heritage, but all fall short of their objective. For either their point of view or their method, or both, rests on certain assumptions. And not all assumptions can be proved. A starting-point, an emphasis, a canon of intelligibility, a bias of one sort or another is always taken for granted. But what cannot be proved in a philosophy can at least be understood. Criticism which is not preceded by an understanding of the contexts, occasions, and intent of doctrines is apt to run out into thin exegesis. Any approach to philosophy which fails to illumine the key assumptions and compulsions of philosophers makes the history of philosophy appear as a succession of incredibly fantastic mythologies compounded of pseudo-science, bad logic, and worse rhetoric.

The usual introduction to philosophy fortifies this impression. It expounds and refutes positions without really convincing sober and critical minds that they were ever seriously entertained or, even less, firmly believed. In welcome contrast, Professor Edman's discussion of four perennial ways of philosophic thought is a brilliant interpretative study. Its great merit is the imaginative skill with which it recreates the moods and attitudes whose compulsions make formally invalid arguments and conclusions appear plausible to those who hold them. The performance is all the more noteworthy because Professor Edman does not accept most of the philosophies he seeks to understand. But he presents them in such a way that they appear to be natural articulations of a specific kind of experience and vision. Adherents of the philosophies he does not accept will find it difficult to retort that they have been misunderstood, because he has expounded their central assumptions, as distinct from their detailed argument, more persuasively than most of them have ever succeeded in doing themselves.

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The four ways of philosophy considered are philosophy as logical faith, as social criticism, as mystic insight, and as nature understood. The author does not claim that they exhaust the possible philosophies or that they are necessarily exclusive of each other. He asserts, and rightly, that they must appear in every account which aims at reasonable completeness. That he is primarily concerned not with the dialectic of philosophy but with what controls its direction is explained by the interpretative frame of his exposition. The intelligent layman will have to go far to find a comparable introduction to the systems of thought whose vital nerves are here so deftly laid bare. Professional philosophers can learn from Professor Edman the difficult art of imaginative reconstruction of points of view different from their own. They are also sure to enjoy the penetrating and effortless prose in which philosophical ideas are communicated.

Professor Edman's own philosophy is a form of experimental naturalism. If his style suggests that of Santayana, without its burnished opacity, his thought reflects that of John Dewey, without the technical incrustration. In the light of his naturalism Professor Edman reveals the sources in nature and experience of doctrines that are supernatural and non-experimental. For all his sympathetic exposition he does not neglect to raise questions and doubts at crucial places. In his effort, however, to enlighten without wounding, his criticisms are so gentle and painless that those at whom they are pointed will probably look over their shoulder to discover the ones meant.

Although Professor Edman gladly admits that every philosophy has a social context, his own study accents a little too strongly the determinations of personal temperament. And although he affirms that the principles of logic are "the grammar of merely human and earthly discourse," not laws of metaphysical being, he does not take note that this brings his naturalism close to the orbit of logical empiricism. To one reader, at least, Professor Edman's book suggests that his mode of interpretative exposition is a useful supplement to the rigorous syntactical analysis of the logical empiricists. For it indicates a way of avoiding the cultural crime of throwing the history of philosophy into the discard. "To make the philosophy by which men live the philosophy by which they speak" is a felicitous statement of a common program for all naturalistic and empirical philosophies. Psychology, sociology, and imaginative reconstruction then become the appropriate instruments for understanding philosophers who cannot make themselves clear to others.

SIDNEY HOOK

"Mexican Modern"

THE NEW ARCHITECTURE IN MEXICO. By Esther Born. William Morrow and Company. $3.50.

CONTEMPORARY MEXICAN ARTISTS. By Agustin Velazquez Chavez. Covici-Friede. $2.75.

MODERN housing, mainly low-cost and in functional style, has made more headway in Mexico than anywhere else on the American continent. This may be partly accidental—because a cement company intelligently boosted the use of its product—but fundamentally it is the result of a progressive drive in all fields of Mexican life. Like painting, modern housing has been encouraged by the government, but it has also been helped by the good sense of modern architects, who have demonstrated that "modern" is the cheapest and best-looking housing obtainable. It is now a matter of course that the private citizen prosperous enough

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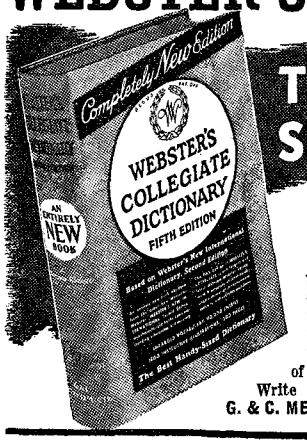

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to build will build modern; especially as the designers have flexibly adapted "functionalism" to Mexican needs and tastes.

The story of how modern housing became a part of Mexican life—what it costs, what it looks like, its adaptability to low-cost state projects for workers, who the builders are, and how they work—is of immediate interest to everybody who is aware of our urgent need to replace our obsolescent living-quarters with others more nearly parallel to our lives and industrial possibilities. It is a double story, technical and social, which only a person at once scholar, technician, and reporter is competent to tackle. This is a rare combination of talents; but Esther Born, photographer and reporter for the *Architectural Record,* proves she has them in the magnificent way she has put together photographs, data, and social insight to make "The New Architecture in Mexico." It isn't often anybody turns out a book as fine as this. Beyond its connection with Mexico, it should be a source of pleasure and excitement to anybody who has ever daydreamed "house."

In his book on modern Mexican painting Agustin Velazquez Chavez undertook to supply the growing need for a source-and-reference handbook of the "movement" which is exercising such a potent influence on modern American painting. The men who founded this movement in 1922 knew very well what an important job they were doing, that theirs was the most significant step in art since the revolt of the European moderns—the effort to join modern painting to current social needs and architectural development. Paradoxically, Mexico invented what industrial America needed. And today, fifteen years after, American painters are discovering this, and making modern mural art the continental, widespread, and familiar thing that the Mexicans planned.

Velazquez Chavez gives very little notion of what the "Mexican renaissance" was—and is—as a group impulse, though group impulse was its essence, as in Renaissance Italy. He views each painter as a separate individual, developing individually; in other words, he simply catalogues them and lists their outstanding works. This would be useful if it were complete, or complete at least as regards the earlier men, whom the writer had no excuse for ignoring. Xaxier Guerrero, Ramon Alba Guadarrama, Amado de la Cueva, Emilio Amero were all among the founding members of the famous "Syndicate of Painters and Sculptors" which transformed the work of all of them—including Orozco and Rivera—and created "Mexican modern." Yet Chavez, though he lists a good many men less important than these, omits them. There are still more glaring silences, dictated apparently by personal taste or obscure prejudice; for instance, Ramos Martinez, the founder of the open-air schools, is forgotten, as is Jean Charlot, to whom the syndicate owed most of its early technical guidance and aesthetic orientation. The author might argue that Charlot was born in France. With similar logic Picasso would be excluded from a list of the French moderns.

ANITA BRENNER

Misdirected Energies

PEACEFUL CHANGE. By Frederick Sherwood Dunn. Council on Foreign Relations. $1.50.

NO one can question the fundamental importance of the problem considered in this book, namely, how to bring about a more equitable distribution of the world's wealth among nations without resort to force of arms. Ordinarily, the dilemma is somewhat crudely stated as an issue between the so-called "have" and "have-not" countries. In this form, the inference is usually made that the "have-not" countries—the three fascist powers—should be granted concessions, both as a matter of justice and as a means of preserving peace. At the present moment such a position is tantamount to approval of Japanese aggression in China.

Mr. Dunn carefully avoids any such implication. In contrast with much of the current pacifist literature on the subject, his book shows that Germany, Italy, and Japan are not the true "have-not" nations, and that many other countries far inferior in economic opportunities have made no threats against the peace of the world. His analysis reveals that the desire for colonies does not rest on sound economic grounds: comparatively few inhabitants of the dissatisfied powers really desire to emigrate; raw materials can be obtained from colonies belonging to others; and the importance of colonial markets tends to be exaggerated. No ground is found for a transfer of territory to the dissatisfied powers either for the purpose of relieving population pressure or supplying raw materials.

Having eliminated, quite properly, any direct means of satisfying the demands of the "have-nots," Mr. Dunn is forced into a somewhat academic argument for a "code of fair practice" in the exploitation of natural resources, the extension of international credits for the purchase of raw materials, and a general reduction in trade barriers. While all these measures are readily defensible on theoretical grounds, the spectacle of the organized peace movement, following Mr. Dunn's lead, considering international planning and tariff reduction when the very structure of international law is being challenged by Japan and the fascist countries strikes one as worse than futile. Granting that the problem of "peaceful change" will have to be solved before we can have any assurance of permanent peace, the fact remains that those who dissipate their energies in that direction in the present crisis are, in effect, aiding those who would make force the sole arbiter of our destinies.

MAXWELL S. STEWART

ART

The Demuth Memorial Show

THANKS are due the discoverers of the efficacy of insulin at the very least for one American force. This is the painter whose representations of the inner life of American things now adorn the walls of the Whitney Museum in New York. It is the late Charles Demuth.

As an artist, Demuth came into being but a few years before he sickened dangerously with diabetes. A painter since his nineteenth year, at one time a pupil of Chase's, this shoot of old Pennsylvania Dutch families did not find himself before he was thirty. Around his thirtieth year, in 1912, he went to Paris. In New York he had seen Marin's water colors. In Paris he digested the new *fauve* and cubist art, including that of Duchamp, author of the notorious Nude Descending a Stairway. When the war drove him home, Demuth returned with a few sensitive water colors. They were the first original work of a man destined to become an important agent of American self-consciousness. And during the next few years he commenced developing his very personal art.

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In point of form some of these subtle, in instances flowery, in other instances geometrical little designs of the early Demuth might be called *fauve*. Like Matisse's paintings, they are decorative arrangements of the pictorial elements. Others of them might be called cubistic, since they are compositions of the inherent straight and curved lines and surfaces of the depicted objects—acrobatics, peaked roofs, belfries, fruits and flowers—disposed on serried planes. Still, there is nothing derivative in the formal details or in the sums of these modest little pieces. All have a peculiarly American elegance, an elegance now jazzy and now refined. Again, they might be charged with a certain preciousness. There is no doubt that their tendril-like or ruled lines, their somewhat pink-and-blue color harmonies, their shapes and total forms, are excessively refined. Unlike Marin's free-running wash, Demuth's almost equally luminous one was scrupulously wiped and blotted. But there is nothing false, anemic, or merely ornamental in this exquisiteness, any more than there is anything derivative in the conceptions. Structural details and sums have vital qualities which make the beholder comprehend certain of the essences which give American existence its peculiar graces. Through the arch, half-ironic designs suggested to the artist by vaudeville stunts, circus acrobatics, jazz-band acts, and the night life of the streets, he comes into touch with the nervous alacrity, the devil-may-care momentum, the half-vulgar erotic flush which creates Broadway, that lane running from New York through the continent unto Alaska. Through the soberer ones suggested by the contents of gardens, the sea-light of Gloucester and Bermuda, New England and Pennsylvania dormered roofs and church towers, he faces the shy, puritanical, almost unadjustable sensitivity which underlies other, finer, but equally American expressions. And through the series inspired by the concrete and iron shapes of the industrial world, there speaks to him the mysteriously precise spirit, the physical accuracy, the almost mechanical sensibility, which makes Americans supremely able machinists and technicians.

Indeed, a deal of the scope of Demuth's feeling was already intelligible from this work of the years anterior to his crisis. Yet had he died at thirty-six, as in the Armistice year it appeared that he must do, we should be the poorer for an important force. Certainly, he had discovered his form. The general range of his themes, including the subjects of Zola's and Henry James's novels, had indeed defined itself. A few paintings in tempera and oil had evinced his endowment with gifts for mediums other than water color. Still, in comparison with the feeling which projects itself in his later work, that of his "first period" is relatively superficial and thin. It is no more than an exquisite and affecting minor artist's. Only a few of the strong, high-pitched Bermudan landscapes declare the dawning mastery.

But Demuth lived on for upward of fifteen years. During the war the value of insulin had come to light. Reprieved, almost as much a well man as he had ever been, and he had always been somewhat an invalid, Demuth once again hobbled sociably through the world—as ever very lively and spick-and-span—and in his native Lancaster enjoyed his mother's excellent cookery, and resumed his work. The old humor and impishness reappeared in it. Only, the feeling had deepened. Had death, in touching Demuth, rendered him clairvoyant? Or had he merely attained his normal maturity? We only know that during those last years his pictorial form grew very full. The intricate, partially overlapping washes in his water colors achieved the amazing bloom and depth of tone which give so many of his still-lifes a crystal-like luster. The line, which had sometimes got tangled in his earlier work, became certain and clear. With their beautifully synthesized gross and flowerlike shapes, his designs became broad. The color harmonies were strong, opposing and combining pearly tints with homely magentas, purples, the tones of aniline dyes, and with rare and sumptuous whites. They have been compared, these later lyrical water colors of Demuth's, to immortelles: because of their wax-like immaculateness and "studied" look. A comparison to Indian pipes, the chaste and fictile pine-saps of the American woods, might seem more justifiable. They have the small plant's crispness and translucency, and their roots in humid earth. And a dignity put in its appearance in the large late temperas and oils, with their Christopher-Wrenn-like shapes and Vermeer-like surfaces. The designs approached monumentality; the harmonies of blues, silvers, and whites, or of dusky reds and grays, a rare profundity. Only in certain of the late posterish designs, where Demuth used the forms of machine-cut block-letters, directive arrows, and other commercial products symbolically, did the inevitable cast its first shadow in the form of a noticeable attenuation.

But his feeling of life had fully been transmitted. Suddenly, as we stand among his later paintings, from one of them there reaches us the peculiar American snap. The communicative medium is a bright little "cubistic" pattern suggested to the painter by a display of striped and colored shirtings in a haberdasher's window. Instantly our mental eye perceives holiday-making young bucks en route to summer beaches. Even more than their appearances, we comprehend the common inner smartness. And one by one the other late pictures similarly unite us with other American forces; so drenched are they with the quality of the graceful driving powers central to the American being, not only of the past and Demuth's own prosperous epoch, but of the present and for all we know the time to come. Most frequently, like their forerunners among the earlier pieces, although with greater intensity, these works harmonize us with the inner tension which expresses itself in the American's perennially shapely, attractive appearance and love of shapeliness for its own sake. It is the parent of phenomena apparently as various and unrelated as physical style, athletic hardness, and the preference for gemmy, clean-cut contours, and, *mirabile dictu*, the extraordinary plasticity of the output of literary representatives as remote in time from one another as Hawthorne, Henry James, and Ezra Pound. In other instances his pictures connect us with the equally undying puritanical refinement verging upon morbidity and rejecting the flesh in the interests of a perfection impossible in life, possible only in death. In still others, and perhaps the most affecting, they relate us to the power—the artist's and the devoted workman's both—which carries certain of our people above personal ends, and sets them like bell-towers amid prismatic light, or sturdily erect with others of their kind like chimneys in all sorts of weather. We call this power faith in light and love.

Thus Demuth stands among the giant clan. Other artists possibly have given America a wider consciousness of its internal self than he has done. But he has beautifully added to and deepened our self-knowledge. As we quit exhibitions of his work such as his memorial show, we seem to see him standing in the general landscape in the form of one of his own church or factory turrets in blue and in gray weather: shapely, tall, serene, among the high agents of communal life.

PAUL ROSENFELD

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DRA.

A Doll's House

THE sound of the door which Nora Helmer slamm. behind her was heard around the world. So at least it used to be said in the days when "A Doll's House" was regarded as a solemn preachment and women were supposed to learn from it not only that they had legs but that they could stand upon them if they dared. I myself have always regarded it in much this same way, but after seeing Ruth Gordon act in the new version which Jed Harris has set forth at the Morosco Theater I am less sure than before what Ibsen's intentions really were. Perhaps Thornton Wilder's new acting version shifts the emphasis slightly; but the occasion for some doubts is in the original text, and I am not even sure that the interpretation which he and Miss Gordon give it is the only possible one.

Obviously the play could not be presented to a modern audience primarily for its value as a preachment. The sound of doors slammed behind departing wives has become so familiar a component in the din of modern living that Ibsen's conclusion cannot possibly have the impact it was once supposed to have. Audiences may once have left the theater too stunned to think beyond the shock, frightening or exhilarating as the case might be, of the author's daring; but few today would recognize even the intention to shock in exactly that way, and if the play is to have any meaning at all it must be a different one.

Those concerned in the present production have solved the problem by playing "The Doll's House" as straight tragedy. Nora is the victim of a stupid husband and also of cruel chance. The rather old-fashioned intrigue involving the forged note is depended upon heavily to sustain the interest, and the mood of the conclusion is pure tragedy. Torwald does not stand in the middle of the room asking himself what "the most wonderful thing of all" might be. Just before the curtain goes down he has followed Nora into the hallway, and a definite finis has been written to the tragic episode.

Thanks partly to the always resourceful acting of Ruth Gordon, as well as to that of Sam Jaffe as the shady Krogstad, the evening is an absorbing one. Miss Gordon makes Nora a person, and one who never completely forfeits our respect despite a certain self-satisfied slyness which is no less a part of her character than the innocence we more often think of. But when one gives the play a sober second thought one wonders if it will really bear the weight which so heavily tragic an interpretation as the present one puts upon it, especially if one tries to retain, as here, the final scene of Nora's *éclaircissement* with her husband. There is something perfunctory about this sudden dumping of the whole mess into his lap; something unconvincing in hastily blaming him for all Nora's follies; something all too glib in the sketchy implication that she would have been perfect if only he had been enlightened.

Perhaps the difficulty is one which cannot wholly be got over. Perhaps, in other words, the play is not really for all time and ceased to be thoroughly satisfactory when it ceased to have a paralyzing impact and when the lesson, after the way of lessons, came to seem less all-sufficient as it came to be more and more accepted. But it would be interesting

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to see how it would work out if interpreted after the fashion which some—notably Hermann J. Weigand in "The Modern Ibsen" and Professor Hatcher Hughes—have suggested, namely, as essentially comedy. Such an interpretation would necessarily assume that the door was not closed forever, but it would not change the moral.

What did Ibsen himself intend? That is a question which will never be answered definitely, for Ibsen was far cagier than most tendencious writers of today and always refused to allow anyone to pin him down. That he had been a champion of the "new woman" there is no doubt, and to have conceived to his notes there is no doubt that he originally intended Mr. "The Doll's House" as a tragedy. But as the revision Weigand, at least, there is also no doubt that the tendency to move away of the play shows an unmistakable purely tragic victim and from the conception of Nora those traits of wilfulness and to introduce into her character her something of a minx. So, self-satisfaction which Torwald, the later version emphasizes the too, in the case of the side of his character and that also indicates merely purposed a comedy of misunderstanding. Everybody a veering at Ibsen unwillingly wrote the explicit happy end known was used in some early acted versions, but that does not mean that he intended the standard conclusion to be more than a sort of "lady or tiger" question. Certainly the Nora who felt so heroic because she had done some fancy-work is hardly one well fitted to make her own living in a difficult world, and there is no indication that she would require of her husband more than it is conceivable that a reformed Torwald might give.

Toward the end of his life Ibsen said in a speech, "I have been more of a poet and less of a social philosopher than people are generally inclined to believe." But to make "A Doll's House" a comedy does not necessarily mean to make the author less of a social philosopher. It means only to make him a less persistently somber one.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

RECORDS

STOKOWSKI has informed us that his transcription of some of the music of "Boris Godunov" (Victor: three records, $6.50) is based on Mussorgsky's score, not on Rimsky-Korsakov's reworking of this score.

> With generous intentions Rimsky-Korsakov tried to reorchestrate and re-form "Boris." Instead, he made something far from the spirit of Mussorgsky. The original orchestration of Mussorgsky shows clearly what he was trying to say, but sometimes he failed to express his musical conception, because he was inexperienced in the vast, subtle, and highly differentiated world of the modern orchestra . . . I have tried to help the orchestra more completely say what Mussorgsky was aiming to express, keeping the music in the dramatic sequence of Pushkin's poem and Mussorgsky's music. The result is something like a free modern symphony . . .

Poor Mussorgsky has had a worse fate than even Mozart and Schubert, for not only did he suffer the indignities to body and spirit which they did, but his work has suffered an indignity which theirs has not: the musical expression of a simple, profound, and great spirit has been rewritten by facile or vulgar persons whose sole—and to them sufficient—qualification for the ...ken a command of slick ...tempt at re-forming and re-orchestral effects. St... far removed from the spirit of orchestrating "Boris' ...orsakov's. To speak of a sequence of Mussorgsky as Rim... out of organic musical context and pieced passages wren... what the Victor blurb-writer for once together t... as "a series of climaxes of almost incorrec...le brilliance, color, and power," and what may be described also as a series of recording effects (for example, the pause of almost a minute to record the dying out of the sound of a bell)—to speak of this as a symphony, with its connotation of organic coherence, is to make nonsense of the word. Nor is there more sense in saying that a transcription is based on the original score when it then departs from Mussorgsky as far as Stokowski does. What has the perfumed phrasing of the opening measures, what has all the tonal luxuriance and glitter, what has the excitement and fever—what, in other words, has Stokowski to do with Mussorgsky? Nothing whatever.

Nor any more with Bach—whether Stokowski merely translates Bach's thought, or whether, as in some of the things in the latest album (Victor: five records, $9.50), he undertakes to think for Bach. Don't let this worry you: it is by no means true that if one rejects Stokowski's streamlining one is left with only half-fulfilments of Bach's conceptions. The notion that the composer of two hundred years ago who did not have the piano or the orchestra of today lived in an agony of frustration is absurd: he worked, with complete satisfaction, with the instruments of his own day. In Salzburg I heard Mozart's own piano, which did not remotely sound like ours; when I heard it in his Trio for Piano, Viola, and Clarinet I realized that he had conceived the work in terms of the sonorities of the viola, the clarinet, and his piano, not ours, and that one heard the work he had conceived only when it was recreated in those terms. Bach, too, thought in the terms of the medium he chose for a work, and fulfilled his conception completely in those terms; this does not mean that he never can be translated into other terms; it does mean that when you hear his Organ Chorale-Preludes played on the organ by Schweitzer (Columbia: seven records, $14), or his Organ Passacaglia played on the organ by Carl Weinrich (Musicraft: two records, $3.50), you hear a complete realization of Bach's intentions in these great works. The recording of these performances is excellent; and here I might add that played on the Scott with Victor half-tone steel needles the Stokowski-Bach records give distortion which is unendurable, but which disappears with fiber or Columbia chromium needles.

Victor now offers Schnabel's subscription recording of Beethoven's Sonata Opus 106 (six records, $12); why only this flawed great performance and not one of the earlier unflawed ones of Opus 111, 109, 110—Victor knows best. It knows also why it has issued a poor recording of a bad performance of Brahms's Violin Concerto by Kreisler and the London Philharmonic under Barbirolli (five records, $9). On the other hand it offers three fine single records: of Hüsch and Margherita Perras singing "Là ci darem la mano" (in German) from "Don Giovanni" and "Bei Männern welche Liebe fühlen" from "The Magic Flute" ($1); of Marian Anderson singing Schumann's "Der Nussbaum" and Brahms's "Die Mainacht" ($2); of the delightful Overture to "Hänsel und Gretel" played by the B. B. C. Symphony under Boult ($1.50). Excellent, also, are Columbia's set of excerpts from "Mignon" (five records, $7.50), and a single ($1.50) with Szigeti's performances of a Schubert Rondo and a Tartini Adagio.

B. H. HAGGIN

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Letters to the Editors

Thanks for Mary M——

Dear Sirs: You can't imagine what a relief the article by Mary M—— was to me and several of my Catholic friends. All these months we have been blushing with shame at the pro-rebel stand of our top hierarchy and our slavish "Catholic" press. We Catholics who have to sweat for a meager living understand well enough what is going on in Spain. The pro-fascism of our upper Catholic circles does not surprise us in the least. Their stake in big business is just as substantial as Hearst's. If you examine their newspapers (not unlike Hearst's, by the way, in general tone), you will find a rather high consistency in position. Mixed up with some pro-labor demogogy there is a marked sympathy for those who are opposing the much-needed reforms of Cárdenas in Mexico. There was enthusiasm among them when Vargas recently put Brazil on the fascist side. Some of them actually crowed with delight at the reactionary antics of the Quebec authorities a short time ago. Like Hearst they are trying to discredit every single progressive movement.

You see, even our Catholic world is torn by class lines—tories versus the people. My thanks to Mary M——, who had the courage to show that the church comprises more than a few bigwigs.

J. J. HUGHES

New York, December 27

Our Minister to Spain

Dear Sirs: I was a bit shocked in your issue of December 18 to find so intelligent a writer as Oswald Garrison Villard complaining of the choice of such men as Claude Bowers and John N. Willys for diplomatic posts, implying that they are of the same sort. Probably everybody would agree that Willys got his job because of his wealth and that he had no other qualifications for diplomacy—I'm not even sure that he was a good automobile manufacturer—but Mr. Villard should know that Claude Bowers could not have been appointed because of wealth. He happens to be an outstanding American historian and can hardly be grouped with a mere business entrepreneur.

Mr. Villard also comments that Bowers "has sat comfortably in Hendaye since the war in Spain." Where else should he have sat comfortably or uncomfortably? He stayed in Spain until the State Department ordered him to go to the French border. Incidentally, all the other diplomats also went there; Bowers has done a tremendously useful job, I am told, in offsetting the pro-Franco propaganda sent out by Sir Henry Chilton, the British ambassador. Besides having scholarship and a rare facility of expression, Bowers has a lot of the same brand of shrewdness and horse sense that made Benjamin Franklin a successful diplomat.

FRED C. KELLY

Hickory Hills, Ohio, December 25

Shade of Roger Williams!

Dear Sirs: Your readers may be interested to know of the inroads on civil and religious liberty that are being made, quietly, in Roger Williams's home state, Rhode Island.

On the religious front the leaders of the Catholic hierarchy are supporting a plan "to put a fourth 'R' in the curriculum" of the public schools, by means of voluntary courses of religious instruction. Protestants and Jews are opposing the proposal. The legislature has already passed an act appropriating public funds for transportation of parochial-school students to and from their sectarian institutions, and in one town, at least, the public-school building was made available for use as a parochial school during the summer.

The most striking infringement of civil liberties has occurred in connection with moving pictures. Last spring the Providence Bureau of Police and Fire prohibited the public showing of "Spain in Flames," and a few weeks ago it took similar action with respect to "The Spanish Earth."

The stated reasons for censoring these two films should be of considerable interest. "Spain in Flames," the censors argued in their official statement, was "reeking with communistic propaganda, tends to incite riot and class hatred, is distinctly disrespectful to two friendly nations, and is a sordid depiction of the terrors of a civil war, illustrated by many reproductions of newsreels, with numerous repetitions and some extraneous scenes and admittedly a Russian film—Amkino" (*sic*). In banning the commercial exhibition of "The Spanish Earth" six months later, the police officials exhibited an increasing sophistication. The censor ruled that its showing "might tend to antagonize and stir up racial hatreds among a large number of people of foreign extraction. We are living peaceably together in this community." The Bureau of Police and Fire, indorsing his recommendation, added that it considered the film "propaganda," and "taking cognizance of remarks made in the dialogue of the picture criticizing friendly powers," it decided to follow its "usual practice" and forbid the exhibition of the picture.

In the near future a court challenge of the Police Bureau's arbitrary exercise of its discretionary power will be instituted. In the meantime the struggle over religious education in the schools goes on.

IRWIN M. TOBIN

Providence, R. I., December 28

Not Only Spain Is at Stake

[*The following letter was written to a friend in Paris by a German theological student who helped to organize the Hitler Youth in 1931 but was disillusioned when the Nazis came into power.*]

Dear ——: Such important issues are being decided today in Spain and the Far East that many people are losing sight of internal political developments in Germany and giving no thought to the struggle which is being carried on by a small but tenacious opposition. Perhaps it is surprising that I speak of a "small" opposition. It is only too true, however, that those who oppose National Socialism with another political philosophy, for which they are willing to fight, are few in number. This political élite comprises perhaps from one and a half to two million persons. That does not imply that the German people as a whole are National Socialist. The overwhelming majority are completely apathetic toward politics. They are not National Socialist at heart; they simply give no thought to any kind of political activity. They offer, therefore, a fertile field for the efforts of the opposition.

And now I come to what I wish to

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say in this letter. The masses of the people are held back by a restraining sense of National Socialism's very successful foreign policy. One hears everywhere: Why bring on a struggle against a government which is continually widening Germany's sphere of influence? The Spanish government is about to fall; no attempt is made to turn back the Japanese from their slaughter of the Chinese—are not these facts proof that the democratic states care less about upholding their ideals than about preserving the peace of Europe?

What shall we reply? We can all see that the Spanish people are facing catastrophe, that another nation is falling into the arms of fascism. Anyone who knows how strong is the psychological and material pressure brought to bear on every German by National Socialism must understand how much inner idealism is necessary to carry on the struggle against it, must understand how we suffer at the sight of the collapse of European democracy—its spiritual collapse, its lack of energy.

It would mean a great deal to us here in Germany if the cry "Open the Spanish border!" became a reality, if England, especially, would recognize its responsibility to Europe. With Franco victorious, we shall confront a situation that is almost hopeless. But if the democratic states should finally be roused to action, the German opposition would be greatly strengthened; both its numbers and its inner stability would be increased.

Not only Spain is at stake, but our whole future. H. S.

The Furnases Defended

Dear Sirs: Permit me to register objection to the review of the Furnases' book, "Man, Bread, and Destiny" written by Hugh H. Darby and published in your issue of December 11. The reviewer says of the book: "In any department accuracy is at a low level," and he further states that the authors tend throughout "to jettison truth in favor of the spectacular." In substantiation of these serious accusations he brings forward three essentially frivolous examples. Thunder and lightning, Mr. Darby doubtless knows, are more or less closely associated; so are calcium and phosphorus in the formation of bones and teeth. This, obviously, is all that the authors meant to convey by their rhetorically vulnerable but otherwise entirely unimportant statement. The criticism is, as I say, frivolous. So are the others, about Cleopatra and Dr. John Hunter. Where in the book is truth jettisoned in the authors' serious treatment of nutrition?

In the last paragraph of the review Mr. Darby's general condemnation of writers of "popular" science has no application to the authors of this book. Dr. and Mrs. Furnas are good writers, they have full and expert knowledge of their subject, and they comprehend the scientific method. Their dramatizations are legitimate, they admit lack of knowledge where they should, and they show no tendency to debase or discard the scientific method.

Mr. Darby's review, by the way, fails also in positive virtue; it tells almost nothing about the contents of the book.

H. M. PARSHLEY

Northampton, Mass., December 18

Darby Sticks to His Guns

Dear Sirs: Replying to Mr. Parshley's criticism of my review, I wish to say first that I do not consider that the three examples I gave of the "low level" of accuracy in "Man, Bread, and Destiny" can be called frivolous. When an author opens his book with a challenging statement, and then can produce only a very poor case in point, he had better reconsider his statement. On the other hand, if he does not recognize the weakness of the example—and apparently even Mr. Parshley agrees with me that it is a poor example—then his ability as a thinker is brought into question. As to the "thunder and lightning" example, I do not know that they are "more or less closely associated." I know that thunder and lightning are two results of a common cause, and that no such relation exists between phosphorus and calcium. The criticism in my review was aimed at this very lack of precision.

One cannot quote *ad infinitum,* but here is a sentence that should refute the assertion that the writers have "full and expert knowledge of their subject": "Fats form a protective layer around the nerves, apparently to cushion these delicate wires from undue shock." The myelin sheath which surrounds certain nerves has a high fat content, but its function is still the subject of considerable doubt among physiologists.

The last paragraph of my review applies not only to the Furnases but now also to Mr. Parshley. I should have expected a science teacher at Smith College to have the history of nutrition and the present status of nutritional studies more clearly in mind than his letter indicates. HUGH H. DARBY

New York, December 26

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Correction—The pages of last week's issue, Number 1, Volume 146, should have been numbered 1 to 28.

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